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Selections.

THE IMPRISONMENT OF COLORED SEAMEN.

Debate in the Senate on the amendment of Mr. Seward to the Slave Trade Bill, providing for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

In the Senate.....Wednesday, Sept. 11.

Mr. Winthrop. I perceive, Mr. President, that my use of the word "indiscreet," yesterday, in relation to the amendment proposed by the Senator from New York (Mr. Seward), has rankled a little in his bosom. Sir, I would willingly retract that word. I would willingly acknowledge that whatever the Senator does is "wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best." But my difficulty in doing so at this moment, is in the fact, that the honorable Senator himself has formally admitted the charge. He has first pleaded guilty, and then has gone into an argument to prove his innocence. The honorable Senator rose this morning, and asked leave of the Senate to do what? Why, sir, to withdraw his amendment, because it was out of time—because it was unseasonable—because he desired to do that to-day which I desired to do yesterday, to give an opportunity for passing the main body of this bill—the two original sections of the bill—before he insisted on pressing an amendment which he knew must embarrass, if not defeat its passage. Well, sir, I regretted exceedingly that the Senator was not allowed to withdraw his amendment on that occasion. He had admitted all that I had averred with regard to it, and had asked leave to withdraw it; but the yeas and nays having been ordered, and one or two objections being made, the Senator was compelled to leave it where it was. And now, forsooth, no sooner is this settled than he proceeds to argue that it was entirely in season, entirely suitable, that there was no objection to it at this time, or at any other time; and that in using the word "indiscreet," yesterday, I quite overstepped the proprieties of the occasion. Nay more, sir; the honorable Senator, somewhat stung apparently by my application of this phrase—which I certainly regret if it gave him offence—proceeds to argue, by way of retaliation, that I am in favor of this bill as it stands on your table in *quasi* committee. He charges that I was opposed to his bill being substituted for the original bill, with a view of saving the bill, as it now stands in committee, not yet reported to the Senate.

Now, sir, I might well charge the honorable Senator with a want of generosity, with a want of candor, with a want of justice towards me on this point. That Senator knows perfectly well that my vote is already recorded against both the amendments of the Senator from Maryland (Mr. Pearce). That Senator knows perfectly well that throughout my whole course in Congress, in either wing of the Capitol, I have been uniformly opposed to all provisions of law like that contained in the last and most obnoxious of these amendments. That Senator knows perfectly well that it is the original bill, as reported by the distinguished Senator from Kentucky, which I intend to support, and which I desired to save by opposing the unseasonable and injudicious amendment which he has thought proper to propose. Sir, I shall not yield to the Senator himself in the earnestness of my opposition to the amendments which have been adopted in committee on motion of the Senator from Maryland; and I have been anxiously waiting an opportunity—the only opportunity which can be fairly afforded—when those amendments shall be reported to the Senate, to make that opposition again manifest.

As, however, a comparison of the whole bill with the substitute which has been offered by the Senator from New York is now the legitimate subject of consideration, I suppose I may be allowed to say a word or two on those amendments. Certainly, sir, I am opposed to the bill as it now stands upon your table, if those amendments are to be persisted in. I regard the amendment which authorizes the corporations of Georgetown and Washington and the levy Court of Washington county to proscribe, exile, and drive out of their respective jurisdictions a certain class of freemen—for they are called freemen in the bill itself—as utterly unconstitutional and utterly unjustifiable. Why, sir, these amendments are of a nature to change the whole character of the measure; and this bill, in the form in which it stands on your table at this moment, is liable to be made the instrument of a policy as odious and oppressive as the very traffic which it originally proposed to suppress. Instead of being a bill to abolish the traffic in slaves, it seems rather about to be made a bill to create a traffic in freemen; for you allow the two city governments to do what? To remove, to exile, to drive out from their respective jurisdictions any free colored persons whom they shall not think fit to have among them; and in case any such persons should not exactly comply with certain laws or regulations which may be prescribed on the subject of their residence or removal, you authorize these authorities to imprison them at labor; and all this on the mere ground of their color; all this on account of their complexion.

Why, the very jail, the very depot which has been rendered so odious by this domestic traffic in slaves, which the Senator from Kentucky desires to suppress, may be used for imprisoning these free negroes, and turning them into virtual slaves, by making them work for the public service against their will, and for no fault but that of their skins. I therefore cordially unite with the Senator from New York in his opposition to that part of the bill, and shall gladly co-operate with him in striking it out. But his amendment goes further. It proposes to strike out the whole bill. It proposes to strike out the two original sections, by which, and by which alone, the slave trade can be abolished. I repeat, again, that the Senator in this case risks the substance for the purpose of signalizing himself in a vain attempt to grasp the shadow. He knows that at the present session of Congress no bill like that which he proposes can possibly be passed through the two houses. But, sir, even if it should be passed, what would be the result? Why, if the people of this District—as in my judgment I am sorry to say I think they would—should vote that Slavery should not be abolished in this District at six months' notice, and upon the precise terms which the Senator proposes, then what becomes of the bill for suppressing the slave trade?

The Senator perils upon the vote of the people of this District the whole question at issue. If the people shall declare against emancipation, then we are neither to have Slavery abolished nor the slave trade suppressed. Sir, I, for one, cannot consent to such a policy. The Senator may feel justified in declaring that Slavery shall not be abolished here, unless the people of the District say so. But I can go with him in no course which leaves the suppression of the slave trade in any degree contingent upon a popular vote.

Mr. President, I would gladly do everything in my power to promote the interests and true welfare of the District of Columbia. I desire to vote for the two original sections reported by the Senator from Kentucky. I desire to save those sections if possible, by voting against all other matters which may interfere with and embarrass their passage. But I cannot violate a great principle. I cannot establish what I hold to be an unconstitutional discrimination between different classes of American freemen, in order to subserve a mere local convenience. As to the difficulty which has been suggested with regard to the influx of free negroes into this District, why, you have the same means of dealing with them as you have with all other persons who come here. If they are vicious, disorderly and riotous, as they have been represented to be, you have all the moral and legal remedies at your command against vice, disorder and riotousness. If they are vagrants, you can restrain them. If they are paupers, you can put them to labor. If they are guilty of breaches of the peace, or of crime of any kind, you can arrest them on proper evidence, and imprison them on due conviction in your jails and penitentiaries. You have your work-houses for them by day, and your watch-houses for them by night. And you have, or ought to have, the better security of schools and churches for their reformation and improvement. Whatever you can do for others, you can do for them.

And, sir, I should like to ask what clause there is in the Constitution, and what authority there is to be found anywhere, for making distinctions between one class of freemen and another class of freemen in this country? It has been repeatedly asked here, where we get authority for discriminating between different classes of property, between slave property and other property. I should like to know where we get authority for discriminations between different classes of persons—between different classes of acknowledged freemen? Where is the provision in the Constitution of the United States? Upon what principle does such a discrimination rest? How is the assumption to be justified, that a certain class of the free people of these United States shall not enjoy the prerogatives and privileges of freemen, to go where they please, and live where they please, and do what they please, subject only to the common and equal laws and ordinances of the land?

Sir, I have said more than I intended to say, and quite as much as I desire to say upon this occasion. I am still of opinion that there is a good hope of saving the bill originally reported by the distinguished Senator from Kentucky, for the suppression of the traffic in slaves in the District of Columbia. For that bill I shall vote. I believe it to be a practical and immediate question, and one which is capable of being settled now and at once, to the satisfaction of the whole country. I shall, therefore, vote against all amendments that may tend, in my judgment, to embarrass or defeat its passage.

Mr. Foote succeeded Mr. Winthrop, and expressed regret at the sentiments which he advanced, which he said entirely destroyed in their effect the speech of the previous day. He was also surprised at hearing the Senator from Massachusetts say that he was opposed to Mr. Pearce's amendment, which he (Foote) said was to prevent a great and growing evil in the District—the taking and carrying away feloniously the slave property of citizens of the District. He thought Mr. Winthrop misunderstood the design of the amendment, which he (Foote) said was merely granting to the corporate authorities of the District the same powers of legislation as are possessed and exercised in all the slave States in the Union. Mr. Foote closed by expressing his utter abhorrence and detestation of Mr. Seward's amendment.

Mr. Winthrop. Mr. President, I shall be very brief in reply to the Senator from Mississippi. He has suggested that there has been some extraordinary difference between my course to-day and my course yesterday; and that some remarks which I have made here this morning have thrown a dim and disastrous eclipse over the brilliant speech which he says I delivered before the Senate last evening. Now I desire to do the Senator from Mississippi the justice to say, that I have never discerned any difference in him; that he never changes; that he is the same to-day, yesterday and every day; and that he always seems ready to come in, like the chorus in the old Greek tragedy, with a note responsive to every variety of event and emotion, to the edification of the Senate, the admiration of the galleries, and no doubt very much to his own personal satisfaction.

In the next place, sir, he intimates that there was some collision between the Senator from New York and myself yesterday, and that I have apologized for it unworthily to-day. The Senator is quite mistaken. It was with himself, and not with the Senator from New York, that I had the collision yesterday. That speech which he has done me the honor to characterize as so brilliant and triumphant, was in reply to his own extraordinary and extravagant remark, that the principle maintained here, that we had the power to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, was but the entering-wedge which was to rive asunder the bonds of this blessed Union. But, though the Senator would seem to have overlooked the fact that the collision was with himself, I am more than half inclined to think, from the speech which he has just made, that he really has not forgotten it; and that he has only designed to pay off to-day a score which he left entirely unpaid and unacknowledged yesterday.

In the next place, sir, the Senator says that he hopes that I do not sympathize with the people who come here to commit petty larceny on the property of the South, and that he will at least wait until I declare it myself before he believes that I do. Now, sir, if he will promise to do what he says, I shall be perfectly satisfied. I have never yet declared that sympathy, and never shall, and therefore the Senator is bound by his own declaration never to believe me to have entertained it.

One word more, sir. The Senator has alluded to the proposed restrictions about free negroes in this District; and he tells us, for our example and encouragement, that they have just such restrictions in the Southern States, and that, therefore, we ought to have them here. Why, sir, we all know that they have these restrictions in the Southern States, and we all know what is the operation of them. Within a few weeks past the abuses that are perpetrated under these laws have been brought afresh to the attention of the Senate. I refer to the laws under which our free colored seamen are seized on board our merchant ships and imprisoned, their employers deprived of their services, and they themselves made liable to be sold as slaves. We know well, sir, and from the bitterest experience, that the Southern slave States have these laws; and I, for one, will never vote for any provision like this, which gives a virtual sanction to such laws, and which is to set the example and to establish the precedent here, in the very capital of the Republic, of making so odious and oppressive a discrimination between the freemen of one color and the freemen of another color, in a land professing to be a land of equality and liberty.

After some further remarks by Mr. Foote, the debate was continued as follows:

Mr. Butler. I was very sorry to hear the Senator from Massachusetts again allude, and in pretty strong language, too, to what he is pleased to term the "abuses" arising under the police regulations of some of the Southern States, South Carolina included, by which a discrimination is made between white citizens and free negroes. It somehow happens that the Commonwealths of Massachusetts and South Carolina are continually in controversy, yet, notwithstanding, I hope we shall continue to maintain our mutual respect for each other. I have heretofore thought it entirely unnecessary to reopen this matter again, after it had been, as I supposed, once disposed of; but I will take the liberty of propounding a question to the Senator from Massachusetts. I believe the Romans and Greeks regarded the right to be a soldier, and to serve in their armies, as the highest franchise that could be conferred on a man; and in some of our States I think it enters into the right of citizenship. Now, I ask the Senator if he ever saw a black man carrying arms in Massachusetts?

Mr. Winthrop. It is very true, Mr. President, that, under the laws of the United States—for the laws of the United States are paramount on the subject—none but whites are enrolled in the Massachusetts Militia. I have an impression, however, that, not indeed in these piping times of peace, but in the time of war, when quite a boy, I have seen black soldiers enlisted and trained in defence of the country in my own State. It is an unquestionable fact that they were so enlisted and did faithful and excellent service. But, however it may have been in the Northern States, I can tell the Senator what happened in the Southern States at this period. I believe that I shall be borne out in saying that no regiments did better service at New Orleans [illegible] did the black regiments, which were organized [illegible] der the direction of Gen. Jackson himself, aft[illegible] most glowing appeal to the patriotism and hono[illegible] the people of color of that region; and which, [illegible] they came out of the war, received the thank[illegible] General Jackson, in a proclamation which has [illegible] thought worthy of being inscribed on the page[illegible] history.

Mr. Butler. The Senator has answered m[illegible] saying what I could not have said so well. [illegible] Senator says that by the laws of the United St[illegible] black men are not allowed to serve in the mi[illegible] and that answers my question precisely. When [illegible] Constitution was framed, and when the law of [illegible] was passed, the Federal Government, in my opi[illegible] never dreamed, certainly they never expressed [illegible] opinion in their legislative acts, that the black [illegible] had the eligibility to become a citizen, and [illegible] were, therefore, not even allowed to enter the m[illegible] or to hold commission in the service of the Gov[illegible] ment. And if we look at the old laws in refer[illegible] to sailors, we shall find that in the foreign [illegible] merce of the country, none are allowed to be[illegible] sailors but citizens of the United States, or [illegible] colored men; thus clearly and distinctly disc[illegible] nating between citizens of the United States [illegible] colored men. Where is the discrimination in the laws of the United States, I should like to know what there is to prevent South Carolina or Louisiana from making a similar discrimination in their laws. These very discriminations are recognized and acquiesced in by Massachusetts herself. I doubt very much if the Senator ever saw a black man on a jury there. I do not know whether they are allowed to intermarry with the whites, though I believe the Senator from New Hampshire said that in his State the black and white men and women were regarded alike. [Laughter].

Sir, these men repudiate the discrimination here when it suits their purpose to assail the South, but they preserve it at home, and there degrade the very persons whom they here elevate by their voices. The black man is put in a much higher scale in their rhetoric than he is by their practice. I repeat, this is a discrimination which is recognized by the Constitution itself, and by the old laws of Congress, before they were tainted by this new spirit of abstract philanthropy, in opposition to the practical wisdom of our ancestors. I do not, therefore, regard it as an abuse in South Carolina, with these precedents before her; and there is no just reason for singling out that State for particular animadversion on the subject. There are local laws in many of the States recognizing this discrimination, to which I might allude. On a former occasion I alluded to the fact that a free black man cannot go to Illinois, and they are to be prohibited from going to Ohio, if one of the provisions proposed to form a part of the new constitution shall be allowed to go into effect. In Connecticut they are not allowed to vote, nor are they, I believe, in New York; and I am informed by my colleague, as the result of his own observation, that in Massachusetts, such is the aversion of the white to the black man, that the voters absolutely drive them from the polls at an election, and scorn and spit upon them. It is only in the Senate chamber, when it suits the purposes of gentlemen, that we hear so much rhetoric on this subject. It is rhetoric without the heart, sir. The heart is not the source from which it flows. And, therefore, I say that when this discrimination is made in the Southern States for their very safety, we are to be told so emphatically by gentlemen that it is an abuse of the Constitution. I insist, sir, that they have no right to make a black man a citizen in Massachusetts, and send him to South Carolina—an entirely different position from that which is conceded to persons of the same class there.

Mr. Winthrop. As the remarks of the Senator from South Carolina would seem to intimate so emphatically that there had been no abuses under these Southern laws, I beg leave to read to the Senate a letter I received a few days ago, in regard to the debate which recently occurred here on this very subject. It is as follows:

"Charlestown, (Mass.) August 29, 1850.

"Dear Sir—In reading over the remarks made by a number of honorable Senators on the 23d instant, on the amendment proposed by the Hon. John Davis, to be affixed to the Fugitive Slave Bill, I find that Senator Davis, of Mississippi, challenges any gentleman in the Senate or elsewhere, to point out a single case where the steward of a vessel has been seized from the vessel and carried on shore. I am astonished at so learned a man proposing such a question, that I thought every Southern man must be so familiar with. Why, a few years since it took place daily in New Orleans. Yes, hundreds have been taken out of ships sixty feet from the soil of Louisiana, on the waters of the United States, for the river, I think, belongs to the United States, and sixty feet for the accomodation of travellers and ships.

"I am a shipmaster, and have traded between New Orleans and Liverpool for many years, and have seen cooks, stewards, and seamen taken handcuffed from many ships by the harbor-masters of each municipality, whose duty it was, and have seen them in prison afterwards; and it is done now in every instance of a free colored man going into most ports south of Charleston, including that city.

"I will now answer the question from my own experience. In 1837 I commanded a Boston ship, and went from Liverpool to Matanzas, loaded for St. Petersburg, Russia, and two days out lost my ship in a hurricane—When she went down, I took to my boat and got on board a Charleston brig, which was partially abandoned also. I took her into the port of Charleston against the remonstrances of my crew, especially cook and steward—one a black, the other a mulatto belonging to, and a native of Boston, by the name of Dunlap. On my arrival both cook and steward were taken immediately to prison, and were kept there while I was there, and how much longer I do not know; nor do I know whether they were sold for their expenses or not. I went to the prison and there I saw many other cooks and stewards of ships then in port, and tried to get mine released and sent away, but could not. It was said that ships would all come in in distress if it was allowed for these to go loose, on the ground of their being brought in as shipwrecked men.

"I presume a list nearly as long as the longest abolition petition could be made out of names of free colored men who have been taken out of ships in Charleston, Mobile, and New Orleans, for only being black, and greatly to the detriment of the officers and owners of those ships. The trouble it makes is enough to exasperate any shipmaster in the world.

"Why can they not make a law to make them stay on board when in port? We would not suffer slaves to come on board to work. We can get a plenty of white men now at all times; and they are allowed to do twice the work that slaves will, and it is much more profitable to the ship; and then we should not be forced to take so many outcast foreigners in our cabins as stewards and also cooks, only because they are whites.

"I will finish now. I have answered Mr. Davis: and I hope he will now inquire into the subject before he asks such a question again. Respectfully your obedient servant, CHARLES A. RANLETT.

"A shipmaster of Boston.

"Hon. R. C. Winthrop, Washington."

I think there is enough, sir, in this one letter, if it be accurate, to justify the word abuse, which I used in regard to the execution of these arbitrary laws in the southern ports. But I have somewhere a memorandum which was sent me some years ago, when I made a report on this subject in the other House, from which it would seem that these abuses were even more serious than this letter would represent them to be. It is a memorandum, for the correctness of which I will not vouch, and which I hope is as extravagant as it certainly seems to be on its face. But from this it would seem that the number of colored seamen imprisoned in New Orleans during a single year was twelve hundred, in Charleston five hundred, in Savannah three hundred, and in Alabama five hundred.

This was an estimate made by a person who then kept the colored sailors' home in the city of New York, and who seemed to have more information in regard to this question of colored seamen than anybody else at the time. I think that if such an estimate has any approach to accuracy, the Senator from South Carolina will not call me to task for having used the word abuse, in connection with these laws.

Mr. Berrien. If the Senator will allow me: I am very glad to hear that the Senator did not vouch for the truth of the statement in regard to Savannah, and in my place here I affirm it to be untrue.

Mr. Winthrop. I am very glad to hear it—The statement may be ever so greatly exaggerated; but if there is one person in the country who believes it to be true, it furnishes an ample reason for desiring that the facts of the case should be properly investigated. But, as the Senator from North Carolina, [Mr. Badger,] whose kind expressions this morning I cordially reciprocate, so eloquently said yesterday on another subject, it is not a question of numbers, but of principle. Our objection to these laws do not depend on the numbers imprisoned or enslaved under them, but on the principle or rather on the violation of all principle, which they involve. Sir, if there be but one man seized on board a ship where he is rightfully employed, and cast into prison, and rendered liable to be sold as a slave, the law is as justly obnoxious to the feelings of every freeman in the country as if there were five hundred or five thousand.

I will notice a single other point in the remarks of the Senator from South Carolina before I leave the subject. He seems to think that there is no part of the country where free negroes have been recognized as citizens. Now, sir, whether this be so or not, is no part of the question before us. They are recognized as freemen; and the question is, in what part of the Constitution of the United States do you find any discrimination between different classes of freemen? The question, as I have said before, is often asked here, where is there any power in the Constitution to discriminate between different classes of property? and I ask the question in return, where is the power in the Constitution to discriminate between different classes of free persons? Why, sir, this very question, has, once at least been argued before a Southern tribunal. And I will refer the Senator from South Carolina to at least one decision which involves the very principle at issue. It is the case of the *The State* v. *Manuel*, in Devereaux and Battle's North Carolina Reports. It was decided by one of the most eminent men of North Carolina, well known, while he lived, to many of the Senators present, and whose memory is still esteemed and honored in all parts of the country. I mean the late Judge Gaston. Here is his opinion on the subject, and as it is a Southern opinion, I shall require no apology for citing it at some length. He says:—

"It was insisted, however, in argument by the Attorney General, that it was unnecessary to enter into the examination of these constitutional prohibitions, for that the defendant can set up no right and claim no benefit from them, because he is not a citizen of North Carolina. The positions of the Attorney General are, first, that these provisions, being contained in the fundamental law by which the people of North Carolina, theretofore a colony and dependency of Great Britain, rising in revolt against the oppressions of the mother country, constituted and declared themselves a sovereign and independent State, *all* the securities provided in that fundamental law, either for persons or property, and all the inhibitions against wrong, were designed exclusively for the benefit of those who were constituent members of that State, and of such as by inheritance or subsequent incorporation into that political body should thereafter become members thereof; and, secondly, that persons of color, whether born free or emancipated from Slavery, were not originally members of that political body, and never since have been incorporated into it. We do not yield our assent to either of these positions, in the extent in which they have been asserted.

* * *

"It is not necessary to examine very particularly the argument upon the second position, which in its course assumed on both sides very much the character of a political discussion. According to the laws of this State, all human beings within it, who are not slaves, fall within one of two classes. Whatever distinctions may have existed in the Roman law between citizens and free inhabitants, they are unknown to our institutions. Before our revolution all free persons born within the dominions of the King of Great Britain, whatever their color or complexion, were native born British subjects; those born out of his allegiance were aliens. Slavery did not exist in England, but it did exist in the British colonies. Slaves were not, in legal parlance, persons, but property. The moment the incapacity or disqualification of Slavery was removed, they became persons, and were then either British subjects, or not British subjects, accordingly as they were or were not born within the allegiance of the British King. Upon the revolution no other change took place in the law of North Carolina than was consequent upon the transition from a colony dependent on a European King to a free and sovereign State. Slaves remained slaves. British subjects in North Carolina became North Carolina freemen. Foreigners, until made members of the State, continued aliens. Slaves manumitted here became freemen, and therefore, if born within North Carolina, are citizens of North Carolina, and all free persons born within the State are born citizens of the State.

A few only of the principle objections which have been urged against this view of what we consider the legal doctrine will be noticed. It has been said that by the constitution of the United States the power of naturalization has been conferred exclusively upon Congress, and therefore it cannot be competent for any State by its municipal regulations to *make* a citizen. But what is naturalization? It is the removal of the disabilities of alienage. Emancipation is the removal of the disability of Slavery. The latter depends wholly upon the internal regulations of the State; the former belongs to the government of the United States. It would be a dangerous mistake to confound them.

It has been said that before our revolution, free persons of color did not exercise the right of voting for members of the colonial legislature. How this may have been, it would be difficult at this time to ascertain. It is certain, however, that very few, if any, could have claimed the right of suffrage, for a reason of a very different character from the one supposed. The principle of freehold suffrage seems to have been brought over from England with the first colonists, and to have been preserved almost invariably in the colony ever afterwards. In the act of 1743, (ch. 1. Swan's Revisal, 171), it will be seen that a freehold of fifty acres was necessary to entitle the inhabitant of a county to vote; and by the act of 2d September, of 1746, (ch. i, ibid 223,) the *freeholders* only of the respective towns of Edenton, Bath, Newbern, and Wilmington, were declared entitled to vote for members of the colonial legislature.

The very Congress which framed our constitution was chosen by freeholders. That constitution extended the elective franchise to every freeman who had arrived at the age of twenty-one, and paid a public tax; and it is a matter of universal notoriety that under it free persons, without regard to color, claimed and exercised the franchise until it was taken from free men of color a few years since by our amended constitution. But surely the possession of political power is not essential to constitute a citizen. If it be, then, women, minors, and persons who have not paid public taxes, and arrived at full age, but had not a freehold of fifty acres, inasmuch as they may vote for one branch and cannot vote for the other branch of our legislature, would be in an intermediate state, a sort of hybrids between citizens and non-citizens. The term 'citizen,' as understood in our law, is precisely analagous to the term *subject* in the common law, and the change of phrase has entirely resulted from the change of government. The sovereignty has been transferred from one man to the collective body of the people; and he who before was a 'subject of the King' is now 'a citizen of the State.'"

So much, sir, for the opinion of this eminent and excellent judge of the old North State. And my friend from Connecticut [Mr. Baldwin] has just handed me another reference, which is altogether pertinent to the same point. I read now from a statute of the State of Virginia, passed December 3, 1792, one section of which is as follows:—

"All free persons born within the territory of this Commonwealth, all persons not being natives, who have obtained a right to citizenship under former laws, and also all children wheresoever born, whose fathers or mothers are or were citizens at the time of the birth of such children, shall be deemed citizens of this Commonwealth until they relinquish that character in the manner hereinafter mentioned."

My friend from Connecticut suggests that the original law passed in 1779, contained the distinction of color, and that the words "white persons" were stricken out at the time this law was reenacted, in 1792. It would thus seem that the old Commonwealth of Virginia, too, has recognized colored persons as citizens. With these authorities I will once more take leave of the question, and not trespass further on the time of the Senate.

Mr. Butler. I am sorry I am not so well prepared on this subject, either with ammunition in my own drawer or with such as is supplied by my neighbors. The Senator from Massachusetts has read us a letter from a Captain Ranlett, and I have a word to say on that point. If you, Mr. President, as a slaveholder—and I believe I may say it of the slaveholders in general—had found your servant in jail, as I sometimes have found mine in travelling the circuits, you would not have permitted him to remain there for a moment, for you would have paid the money necessary to obtain his release; and yet this man, who is preaching to us on philanthropy, by his own confession found his own sailors incarcerated under a local law, and he suffered them there to remain, with the certainty on his mind that they were to become slaves! And he is to read a lecture to us and to the people of the South on philanthropy!

I suppose these people of color were temporarily placed in custody under a local law, until the captain of the vessel was ready to leave the port and take them with him, and he basely abandoned his crew to become slaves in South Carolina, rather than pay a small amount for their release; and yet he is the man who sends a letter here prating about abuses under the local laws of the slaveholding portion of this community! Yes sir, we have "Ranlett on humanity," "Ranlett on freedom," "Ranlett on constitutional abuses," by a man who would leave his own sailors, to whom he was bound by every tie which honor could impose—I speak of "honor" sir—in jail, there to rot, or to become slaves. And yet he is the man who presents himself here as a *censor morum*, or lecturer on philanthropy! Sir, what credit is due to a man who, by his own confession, has committed an act like that?

I repeat, sir, if I had a body servant who had been arrested by the patrol for being without a pass, as we call it, and committed to jail, no matter what might be the hour or what the inclemency of the weather, I would go to his rescue, and take him out of custody by paying the money for his release. But this Captain Ranlett suffers his own crew to remain in prison rather than pay a few dollars to release them! More than that, he subjected them to the risk of being sold into Slavery, and thus suffered the destiny of a human being to be controlled by his omission to do an act of humanity! This, sir, is a pretty fair specimen of what they call philanthropy in some of these free States. The difference between their theory and their practice could not be better illustrated than it has been by the imposing document of this Captain Ranlett, which the Senator has just read to us.

I shall not undertake to deny that such a law exists, or that under it persons are arrested; but I do not believe that under it any one was ever sold into Slavery. And, sir, this discrimination will exist as long as the circumstances exist which required its establishment. If the Senator from Massachusetts knew the circumstances under which this law was adopted, I scarcely think he would persist in the course he is pursuing. If he did, his position would be very like that of the man who was up in the portico, when the escaped lion was tearing the people to pieces. Looking down upon the scene his only exclamation was, "How glad I am that I am up stairs!" [Laughter.] So long as Massachusetts is not subject to the hazards to which the Southern States are exposed, he may feel quite "glad that he is up stairs," and satisfy himself with that consolation!

Why, sir, the city of Charleston would have been committed to the flames, its citizens murdered, and crimes which I cannot name, committed, through the murderous and incendiary arrangement for an insurrection, made through this very class of persons, who came into the city to delude and deceive the slaves, who are better off than themselves, but for a timely discovery of the plot. And yet the burning of cities, the murder of men, and the commission of other more horrid crimes, seem to stand as nothing in the way of honorable gentlemen who choose to philosophize about abstract philanthropy. But for this agitation, I believe, we should have gone on amicably in our legislation between the different States, but the South never will be driven to any course by the arguments of your Captain Ranlett.

Mr. Davis, of Mississippi. While temporarily absent from my seat, I am informed that the Senator from Massachusetts read a letter referring personally to myself. Now I lay no claim to the amount of intelligence which his correspondent seems to award to me, but I do claim to have used due caution in getting information. Before I made that statement here, I made inquiry among those best informed on the subject, and I learned that the arrests of free persons of color, coming in vessels to the port named, had been of those persons who had been on shore, and thus violated the police regulations which the absolute necessity of the case had required these cities to establish—police regulations to prevent the murder of the inhabitants, and the burning of the city by incendiaries, prompted by fanatics baser than the slaves whom they use as insturments for arson and murder. The Senator from Massachusetts reads the letter, I ask him does he endorse it?

Mr. Winthrop. I do not understand what the Senator means by endorsing it.

Mr. Davis, of Miss. Does he adopt the statement as his own?

Mr. Winthrop. Certainly not. I know nothing of the statement of the person, further than the letter itself furnishes evidence. I read the letter as I received it by due course of mail. And I showed it to the Senator from Mississippi before I read it to the Senate, and therefore I have taken no advantage of his absence.

Mr. Davis, of Miss. I am not in the habit of reading letters to the Senate, unless I can vouch for the truth of what they contain. I am not in the habit of parading my private correspondence before the Senate, or of attempting to impugn the statements of my brother Senator here by letters from those who I am not prepared to endorse.

With a modicum of intelligence only, I had not so much credulity as to credit the statements on which the Senator relies. I therefore made inquires in quarters I believed to be most reliable, and arrived at the conclusion that the statements of the letter which was read by the Senator were unfounded, absolutely false. I know something personally of a portion of what is involved in this assertion. I reside so near to New Orleans, and visit it so often, it being my market town, as to have some opportunity to know what is done there. There are two Senators upon this floor who know more about it than myself. There are two Senators who can speak for Charleston, and the Presiding Officer can speak for Mobile. I believe the whole statement to be groundless aspersion, put forth by an abolitionist, and I am sorry that the Senator from Massachusetts has so far forgotten what was due to this body, and to himself, as to introduce it upon this floor.

The President. The Senator will observe order.

Mr. Davis, of Miss. There are times, sir, when men might be excused for forgetting to measure their language. When the moral character of one entire section of the Union is assailed, it is time for those who value it to speak in language not to be misunderstood. I will, however, endeavor to remember the rules of debate.

The charge, not now for the first time brought forward, involves a multitude of crimes. It is an attempt to pervert a necessary police regulation into a system for the capture of freemen, that they may be reduced into slavery. Whatever faults the people of the South may have, I speak confidently when I say kidnapping is not among them.

Sir, there is no community more entirely opposed to reducing any freeman to Slavery than that which I have the honor to represent. There is no man of standing in that community who would not contribute from his purse to relieve any human being, however black, whom the vicissitudas of the sea should drive to their shore, instead of taking advantage of his misfortune to reduce him to bondage. There is not a lawyer in that community who would not step forward and voluntarily advocate the cause of any free man thus arrested. Sir, when vessels come into any of the ports that have been named, and lie at anchor or steamboats come to at the landing of that river which bears on its bosom the wealth of the great Valley of the West to its depot, New Orleans, I am well assured that no civil officer would step on their decks to inspect the crew, that he might arrest any free colored man found on board; and I am still more certain that such arrest would never be made to reduce him to Slavery. But when the safety of our towns is endangered, when the peace of our citizens is involved by the free negroes sent among us as emissaries to instigate the slave population to insurrection, then the highest law of nature, the law of self preservation, requires that the civil officer should interpose and arrest such dangerous persons.

I do not know how far the Senator from South Carolina has considered this question, as connected with the city of Charleston, but it is a matter of history that the second delegate from Massachusetts to South Carolina was one who was sent for the purpose of counteracting those regulations designed to prevent the instigation of the slaves to arson and murder. The first was sent when brave men, resolved to resist oppression by power, unmindful or regardless of right, sought for aid in the generosity and fraternity of the Southern colonies. The difference in the purpose and spirit of these missions is typical of the political and moral change which time and circumstances have wrought.

Disregarding the necessity to meet which this police regulation was enacted, they sent the second ambassador to Charleston to see whether that regulation could not be annulled, and to institute private and insidious inquires into the domestic institutions of the city, for purposes which it was the part of prudence to suspect.

If, Mr. President, these States are united as one family—if, indeed, we are to view each other as a confederated people, it is necessary that this hostility to Southern interests—this war upon the domestic peace and security—this constant outrage on the feelings of the South should cease. Were we without the restriction of the constitution—were we a people relying upon our own hearts and hands for the preservation of our rights, these invasions would not probably have gone so long unredressed. Thus have sectional rivalry and fanatic hate, instead of restraint, found shelter and pretext in our Union. The enmity is rendered worse by the fact of brotherhood. They would not have been able to do so much harm as a foreign nation. As aliens, they must have observed the terms of the treaty, or incur the responsibilities of war; now they aggress under the forms of the constitution. That which was made to unite for all the protection of each, is bent to the purpose of the dominant party. They disregard the comity of nations, instead of observing the fraternity of confederated States. It is time these things should cease.

I am sorry, Mr. President, that the Senator from Massachusetts, a ripe scholar and a gentleman, who knows what is due to others as well as what is due to himself, has produced his private correspondence before the Senate, and without being willing to adopt the statements, reads them in reply to the remarks he had elicited by his course on a former occasion.—Why bring forth a preserved letter from as it appears, an unknown correspondent, referring by name to a Senator, and bearing testimony in a case much too important to be thus decided? I repeat, sir, that I have inquired into the matter, and believe that what has been stated with regard to the arrest and sale of free persons in the Southern ports, is entirely untrue.

Mr. Winthrop. One word only, Mr. President, in reference to what has fallen from the Senator from Mississippi, (Mr. Davis.) I read in the hearing of the Senate, a few moments since, a letter from Capt. C. A. Ranlett, of Charlestown, Massachusetts. We have just heard the indignant exclamations of the Senator on the occasion. I beg leave now to repeat that, before reading it, I showed it to the Senator, and he received it in the kindest and most friendly manner. He did not then think himself dishonored by reading it, and examining it, and commenting upon it, although he did express a doubt as to the accuracy of some of the statements it contained. I have nothing more to add upon that point. I now turn to the remarks of the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. Davis. If the Senator from Massachusetts will permit me, before he leaves that subject, I will say another word.

Mr. Winthrop. Oh! certainly.

Mr. Davis. I did not consider the Senator from Massachusetts dishonored by receiving that letter any more than I considered myself dishonored by reading it. I read it when it was handed to me, as the Senator has just stated. On that occasion I thought his conduct entirely proper. I made my comments, as he has stated, in a friendly manner; but I did not expect that he would parade such poor testimony before the Senate and the country.

Mr. Winthrop. Why really, Mr. President, I do not know that I am bound to conform myself in all cases to the expectations of the Senator from Mississippi. I do not know that it is his perogative to control the correspondence which comes to me; nor do I know that I am not as free to say what I please, and to read what I please, in the Senate of the United States, as the Senator from Mississippi, even though I am a somewhat younger member of this body than he is. As to any impropriety which may be charged upon me in connection with this subject, I shall leave it to the Senate and to the country to judge, on the whole, who has been most forgetful of what is due to this body and to himself, here to-day, and who has most nearly conformed to the course which courtesy and the rules of the Senate demand. Sir, there is not one word in that letter which bears upon the Senator from Mississippi—not a syllable. Even if I had not read it privately to him in advance I should have felt myself perfectly justified in reading it to the Senate, either before his face or behind his back. It calls in question his opinion, it is true but is he so authorized to pronounce *ex cathedra* upon this subject, or upon any other subject, that nobody is to call his opinion in question. And is an honest Boston shipmaster—as I have no reason to doubt that this man is—who speaks what he says he knows, and testifies to what he has seen and experienced, not to be allowed to cast any doubt upon the accuracy of the opinion of that Senator, without being branded as a liar, and without having his letter denounced as false? Sir, I have found this, that when we come to the pinching point, and when the testimony begins to bear hard upon the operation of these Southern laws, then the character of the witness is to be assailed. This is always the resort of a desperate case. This plain spoken sea captain, whose very vocation is a guaranty of his honesty, tells us what has happened to him in the city of Charleston—a city, let me say, for which I have the utmost regard, where I have friends and relatives whom I respect and love and about which I would say nothing offensive or unkind.

Sir, the Senator from South Carolina seems to think that this man is to be disbelieved, that his testimony is false, because he acknowledges that he left these poor people in jail in Charleston. It is true that he has given no explanation of that matter; but I dare say that when he reads this debate and learns the view that has been taken here of his course and perceives how grossly his character has been assailed, he may write another letter, and perhaps I may be allowed, in spite of the reproaches of the Senator from Mississippi, to read that letter also in justification of his conduct in that respect.

Mr. Davis, [in his seat]. And perhaps I may be allowed to express my opinion upon it, and upon

shipwrecked when two days out from Charleston, and took to his boat. When in his boat he came up with a Carolina vessel which had been abandoned. He went on board that vessel and carried her safely into Charleston; and as a recompense for having saved this Charleston vessel, his cook and steward, who were friendless and penniless, and who had just escaped from the perils of shipwreck, were imprisoned in jail; and when he applied to have them released, it was objected that it was contrary to the law of the State; and that if it was done in this case, every free colored man who came there might make the excuse of having been brought there in distress. Why, sir, what means had this captain to procure the release of these men? He was shipwrecked himself and had lost his own vessel. The law of South Carolina says that when free persons of color are thus imprisoned, the captain of the vessel in which they arrive may take them out of prison on paying all costs and charges, when he is about to sail. But this man had no vessel to sail in. He had lost his own. He had saved the Charleston vessel, and, as a reward for having done so, his cook and steward were cast into jail, and he was not allowed to release them. This is his story. If his conduct was barbarous in leaving these men to the operation of the laws of South Carolina, why then, sir, I repeat, the laws of South Carolina must be of such a character as the Senator from South Carolina himself can perhaps best explain. But what better evidence of the character of this law can we desire than that which the Senator from South Carolina himself has mentioned? He tells us that one branch of the Legislature of that State has already repealed or greatly modified this law. It is so. I have read the debates; and in these debates it is recognized throughout that by the law as it now stands, search may be made on board of a vessel, and the colored men found there may be dragged forth and imprisoned. And the very change which one branch of the Legislature of South Carolina proposed, on this occasion, is the change which this Captain Ranlett has himself suggested—namely, to stop short with prohibiting these people of color from going on shore. As the law now stands they are seized in their cabins and cabooses, while on board ship, and before they come on shore. I say, then, that the representative branch of the Legislature of South Carolina, have themselves borne testimony to the inexpediency and injustice of this law, and have done what they could to repeal it.

Sir, I am extremely sorry to be drawn into a discussion so inflammatory as that which has sprung up. I must, however, add one word more in regard to Captain Ranlett. The Senator from South Carolina appears to think that he ought to have remained in Charleston, and helped to get these negroes out of prison. Perhaps it is so. But have we not had some experience on that subject, subsequent, it is true, to the event which Cap. Ranlett relates? Have we not sent one of our most excellent and eminent citizens there, for the purpose of testing the constitutionality of this law, and has he not been proscribed and driven away out of the State? He was driven away, indeed, with courtesy and comity, I acknowledge—for he himself has testified that the gentlemen of Charleston treated him with the greatest kindness—they are incapable of doing otherwise. But still they told him that go he must, and that the constitutionality of these Southern laws could not and should not be tried.

Mr. Butler. Mr. President, I very much regret that this discussion has arisen, and that it has progressed thus far; but really, when a man kindles a fire he must not complain if it burns him. The honorable Senator put fire to the heap, and now he complains that it is too hot.

Mr. Winthrop. No sir: I have made no such complaint, nor has the fire been of my kindling.

Mr. Butler. He who loads his gun too heavily, must not complain of its rebound when he discharges it. I do not know the facts in the case, and I wish to be cautious in what I say in all matters of this kind. The honorable Senator from Massachusetts assumes that this man has told the truth. He says he left these negroes at Charleston, knowing that they would be liable to be sold as slaves; and the Senator makes an apology for him, to the effect that, if he had endeavored to have them released, he might have shared the fate of another gentleman who went subsequently to South Carolina.

Mr. President, so far as I can speak from my own conscientious conviction, if I had perished in the attempt, I would have gone back and endeavored to have rescued those men. I do not say their condition was a hard one. I am somewhat acquainted with the arrangements made for the custody of these people. They are surrounded by a high wall, it is true; but they are fed and taken care of and are not subjected to what would be regarded as confinement in a loathsome prison. They are simply kept from going at large, until the captain of the vessel in which they came goes and asks for them, and takes them back with him to his ship. But how did these men get in there? Why, sir, they went there, doubtless claiming salvage.

Mr. Winthrop. There is no such fact stated in the letter, nor am I aware that it was so.

Mr. Butler. I suppose it to be a fact. You say that these men saved the ship. You may be so generous in Massachusetts, that even the black people from that State would not claim salvage. If that is the ground upon which you put it, it will appear that they earned this salvage, but would not ask for it.

Mr. Winthrop. The Senator is travelling out of the record. I have said nothing about salvage.

Mr. Butler. The record! A record made by Captain Ranlett! I should like to know something more about that record! Is he a prothonotary, or a notary public? Or is it one of those spontaneous records which some men make with the facility of talking? There are persons who both both speak and write with facility, but unadvisedly. I do not know that this man has told a falsehood when he says that these negroes were put in jail; but, much as I am reconciled to the institution of Slavery, I never can be inspired with sufficient confidence to believe the statements of a man who abandons part of his own ship's crew with the certain prospect, as he thought, of their being sold into Slavery, when by a few dollars he could have rescued them. How did these men escape from their condition, sir? This Captain Ranlett says that he left them in jail, and he does not know whether they were sold into Slavery or not. I will answer that they never were sold. But it is clear from the course which he pursued that he did not care whether they were or not. He never inquired. So much for Ranlett on humanity."

The Senator from Massachusetts has laid down two great propositions. The first is that Captain Ranlett, who leaves his crew in prison at the risk of their being sold into Slavery, is a very respectable man; and the second is, that the people of Massachusetts after having earned salvage would not claim it.

Mr. Winthrop. I said no such thing. I will thank the Senator not to put words into my mouth which I did not use.

Mr. Butler. And does the Senator say I have no right to draw the inference?

Mr. Winthrop. I say nothing on the subject.

Mr. Butler. Then I draw the inference that the people of Massachusetts would not claim salvage.

Mr. Winthrop. Well, Mr. President, we have had the tragedy, and now I suppose we are having the farce. [Laughter.]

Mr. Downs. The laws of the States of South Carolina and Louisiana, and some other Southern States, relating to free persons of color, have been frequently referred to during this session, and especially by both of the Senators from Massachusetts, but I have not heretofore deemed myself called upon to make any remarks or explanations on the subject. But there have been some developments to-day so extraordinary and so unheard of, that I am apprehensive that unless they are noticed it may be considered that there is some little truth in them. So far as Louisiana is concerned, and, I believe, so far as Alabama or the city of Mobile is concerned, I know these statements are utterly unfounded. So utterly unfounded and so unquestionably false have these statements heretofore been, that I have passed them by without the slightest notice; but when they are brought forward as they have been here, by a person in such a position, so connected with the Government, having held such high positions elsewhere as well as here, I think some attention to them is called for. Why, sir, the letter of Capt. Ranlett was extraordinary enough, but it rises into dignity when compared with another instrument which the gentleman has brought forward. This is a certificate—from whom? Does he go to the statistics of these States or any where else for authority to prove that a certain number of persons of color have been confined in the manner he has described? No, sir; but he brings forward the certificate of the keeper of a *negro hotel* in the city of New York. This man states in his certificate that twelve hundred free persons of color have been thus seized on board of their vessels and taken on shore and confined in New Orleans. And that is to be considered sufficient evidence of such a charge on this floor! If this will not astonish this nation, I cannot conceive of any thing that will do it.

Now, Mr. President, as to the reproach cast upon South Carolina by this famous Massachusetts captain—does the gentleman pretend to vouch here for the facts of these statements? Does he think that colored mariners, cast on shore in Charleston, were sent to prison and kept there, and in danger of being sold? Unless he vouches for it, I will not believe it, it is so utterly at variance with what I know to be the Southern character, and to all humanity elsewhere. Is this to be admitted on the testimony of an unknown and irresponsible individual? And is the certificate of a negro tavern keeper, or I know not what, to be taken on such a subject as this? It cannot be; it will not be.

Mr. President, since this subject was before the Senate on a previous occasion, I have taken some pains to inquire into the facts, so far as New Orleans is concerned, and I feel authorized to say that these charges are unfounded. It is true, there is a law, a rigid law, upon this subject, which is necessary for our peace and safety as a police regulation; but it is never carried further than is absolutely necessary to secure the peace and safety of the people. I do not know that it was ever enforced; I believe it was pretty much a dead letter, except in very rare cases indeed, until this emissary from Massachusetts visited New Orleans. Since that time, perhaps, the law has been more rigidly enforced, and a few more persons have been sent to prison. This shows the tendency of the action of those who have interfered with our institutions, that it is to make more stringent laws necessary in all the slave States, in consequence of the agitation in the Northern States.

I have been informed that during my absence for a few moments, an allusion was made to the free colored persons who served in the army at the time of the attack upon that city by the British. They did serve in that army with bravery and with honor. Not only were there free colored persons in that army from New Orleans, but from Tennessee, for at that time free colored persons did serve in the military from that State. I happen to know something with regard to those free colored persons who remained in New Orleans; and I know that some of them served most bravely, and that some of them have certificates which they received from General Jackson himself. But it is not so now; that thing is changed, and it is changed in consequence of the agitation that has been produced upon this subject. If you were to believe the statements that have been made here with regard to New Orleans, you would be led to suppose that the free colored people there were the most oppressed and injured people in the world. If the Senator who has produced these statements had been as careful in getting information from proper sources as he has been to get the certificate of the keeper of a negro boarding house in New York, he would have ascertained that there are more free colored people, perhaps, there than there are slaves; many of whom own property in slaves themselves, and who conduct themselves so as to secure respect everywhere. If the gentleman will go there and make his examinations with respect to those persons who come there on boats, he will find that they are not imprisoned and are not oppressed; he will find that on almost all the boats which run either from the free or slave States on the Mississippi river, there are many colored persons.

Is it customary to imprison them in the port of New Orleans? Not at all. He will find that it is customary for them to go on shore and perform duties connected with their boats on board of them, and everywhere else. I believe it is the same with respect to those who act on board ships; but I think it is probable that those vessels which come from Massachusetts, that State which is always making such interference, whose captains make such statements as we have had read here, and whose Senators read such certificates from the keepers of negro boarding houses, are a little more narrowly watched. I should not be surprised if a pretty sharp look-out was kept upon them; but it is not done when honest people come there. No, sir, when boats come from Indiana and Illinois, and other parts of the country, where the people know how to behave themselves, and do behave themselves, they are never interfered with. When the gentleman brings forward such letters or such certificates as he has read, I should like to have him bring forward some fact which would authorize him to say that one of these negroes who had been imprisoned in New Orleans was ever sold. I am not prepared myself to go into details; but I can assure that Senator that even when a person is convicted under the law, so far from being sold into Slavery, the penalty is a very light one; it is only imprisonment for a short time for the first offence; and for the second offence it is only a little longer imprisonment. It has never been the case that any man has been sold into Slavery, so far as I know, nor do I believe that a man would be allowed to be sold.

I happen, Mr. President, to know pretty well the history of the emissary (Mr. Hubbard) who was sent to New Orleans on this subject. He came there, and not knowing very well how to proceed in his business, having addressed a letter to the Governor, of which no notice was taken, and finding that nobody was inclined to encourage him in making a disturbance there, he was a good deal at a loss to know how to proceed. It so happened that the gentleman to whom he brought his letter of introduction showed that letter to me, and asked my advice as to the manner in which he had better proceed. I told him that, under all the circumstances, the best thing for Mr. Hubbard to do was to leave as soon as possible; that it was utterly impracticable for him to execute his mission; that we had lawyers and courts, and that no man, bond or free, had any rights which could not be enforced; but that the State would not tolerate the idea that a mere police regulation of vital importance to them should be entrusted to others, or interfered with; or that gentlemen from other States should come there, and set up their own standards for our regulation. This, he was told, could not be permitted. But although the Governor took no notice of this individual, yet, to convince Massachusetts that there was nothing harsh, or in violation of correct principles in our action, he submitted the whole subject to the Legislature—to call their attention to the question whether, in their opinion, further legislation was necessary.

The whole subject was taken up in both Houses of our Legislature, by a joint committee of which I was a member, and a distinguished judge of the present Supreme Court of our State was another. A report was made which I have not now here, but which I believe was considered conclusive and satisfactory at the time by every person, that the laws of Louisiana, and those of South Carolina were not in violation of any rights given to citizens of the United States under the constitution. We put it on that ground. We sent Mr. Hubbard quietly and peaceably away, and we convinced the community that we were right. And now, when the subjects which have agitated us so long seem to have been disposed of, and when we were likely to have a little peace and quiet; now, that Othello's occupation may not be entirely gone, now at this last moment, lest the agitation should cease altogether, this subject, which had been laid aside for ten years, is brought up, and we have, instead of legitimate evidence upon the subject, a letter read from this celebrated sea captain who deserted his crew, and a certificate from the keeper of a negro boarding house in New York. This is the character of the evidence with respect to the working of the laws of Louisiana and South Carolina in the ports of New Orleans and Charleston.

Mr. Winthrop. When I was a boy, Mr. President, there used to be a saying that "three upon one was two too many." I seem to have brought the whole chivalry of the South about my ears. First came the honorable Senator from South Carolina; and next the Senator from Mississippi; and now the Senator from Louisiana has galvanized himself into a towering fit of indignation, and indulged himself in some very contemptuous remarks with regard to a certain statement, to which I thought proper to allude. The Senator knows that for the contents of that paper I did not vouch. The Senator knows that I have sought no evidence from any of those sources of which he has spoken with so much contempt. I said expressly that the paper was placed in my hands many years ago, and that it contained the estimate of a person who had many opportunities of knowing the facts. I have used it, as I had a right to do, leaving others to judge how far it was correct; and let me add, that Senators will be much better employed in disproving the facts which it states, than in denouncing the source from which it comes, or the channel through which it has been presented to their notice.

Mr. President, I do not intend to protract this controversy further; but this I do say, in conclusion, that I am not to be deterred from bringing before Congress and the country, during the period in which I may have the opportunity of holding a seat in the Senate, the abuses—for I repeat the term—the gross abuses which are practised under the operation of the laws of certain Southern States, upon the free colored seamen of the Northern States, either by sneers, ridicule, or insult. These are the desperate expedients of a bad cause, and are always resorted to by those upon whom the testimony presses too hard. They will be utterly disregarded by me. I shall leave them to their own natural and inevitable recoil.

The Senate, upon motion of Mr. Pearce, of Maryland, adjourned.

Fugitive Slaves.—Although we had a suspicion that there were a good many of the poor hunted fugitives from Southern bondage in this city, the number actually found to have taken refuge here is very astonishing. We were told by an intelligent, well-informed colored man yesterday, that *one hundred and fifty* have been driven hence to Canada, by the passage of the infamous Fugitive Slave Bill by Congress—driven to seek refuge under a *monarchy*, from the bloodhounds of American Slavery—set on by our Republican Government. Forty of these poor people, hunted away from their places of service, encamped near the city on Tuesday night, and left for Victoria's dominions next day.

Some of them are almost entirely white, so much so as to be hardly recognized as of African descent. Men of stout arms and determined hearts are among them, and as they are armed and resolved to be free at all hazards, an attempt to arrest them would be no child's play. We also learn that a slave mother, with her four children has just gone safely through—from Virginia direct.

The free colored people here are making very active and successful efforts in raising funds to aid their brethren in getting through to Canada. They tell us nobody refuses aid—no matter what his politics are—everybody seems willing to give something to help the fugitives.—*Pittsburgh Dispatch.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment....Without Compromise.

NEW YORK: THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1850.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The members of the Pennsylvania Society will hardly need to be reminded that their Annual Meeting commences on Tuesday next, to continue through that and the following days. The *Freeman* of the last week says that

Wm. Lloyd Garrison,
Edmund Quincy, and
Wm. I. Bowditch,

have accepted invitations to be present; and Parker Pillsbury was at Pittsburgh, when we last heard from him, on his way to Philadelphia to be present on this occasion.

Meetings of Colored Citizens.

Below we give reports of two meetings held by the colored people of this city within the past few days. The Report of each was made in part for the *Standard* and in part corrected from that of the *Herald*. As we do not profess to give much more than a sketch of the meetings, of course, the drift merely of the speeches can be given; they are full enough, however, to indicate the spirit which animates the New York colored people. It would be exceedingly difficult to take a fugitive publicly from this city, but unfortunately the work is done secretly and in the dark.

The Reception Meeting given to Hamlet, who had been purchased by contributions made through the *Journal of Commerce* office, and who was brought back on Saturday, was the first public meeting ever held by colored people in the Park. It numbered several thousands, and went off with the greatest enthusiasm. We are glad to be able to state that the death of Mrs. Hamlet, which was reported two or three days before, was incorrect, and that the joy of the reclaimed slave was made complete by the welcome of his wife and children. The story of her death, we are told, arose from the fact that she was, at one time, thrown into convulsions and was supposed by the bystanders to have ceased to live.

Meeting of the Colored Population—Their denunciations of the Fugitive Slave Bill.

A meeting of colored people, with a slight and visible sprinkling of white Abolitionists, was held yesterday evening at the Zion Chapel, Church street. The building, which is capable of holding 1,500 persons, was crowded to excess, two thirds of those present being women of color. The following is a copy of the hand bill by which the meeting was convened:—

THE FUGITIVE BILL!
THE PANTING SLAVE!
FREEMEN TO BE MADE SLAVES!

Let every colored man and woman attend the GREAT MASS MEETING to be held in
ZION CHURCH,
Church street, corner of Leonard, on
Tuesday Evening, October, 1, 1850,
for your Liberty, your Fire-side is in danger of being invaded! Devote this night upon the question of YOUR DUTY in the CRISIS.

Shall we resist Oppression? Shall we defend our Liberties? Shall we be FREEMEN or SLAVES?

By order of the Chairman of the Committee of 13.
Shortly after seven o'clock, William P. Powell was, on motion, called on to preside.

The Vice Presidents were—Messrs. J. M. Smith, J. Powers, Rev. S. White, D. Bush, Rev. S. E. Cornish, E. Harrington, J. H. Putnam, Rev. J. T. Raymond, J. Harris, S. Drayton, Rev. H. Wilson, A. Lyons, J. J. Jefferson, J. Jaffers, J. Purnell, R. H. Cousins, H. Williams, Capt. P. Hawkins, E. A. Potter, and P. Guion.

Secretaries.—T. J. White, M. D.; C. H. Reason, R. Hamilton.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. White, who supplicated for victory over their enemies, and besought the omnipotent power to guide and protect those who are going to the land where men do not trample on one another.

The President, in addressing the assemblage, said: Fellow Citizens—In all things that have beauty, there is nothing to man more comely than liberty. Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, above all liberties. (Cheers.) A more important subject than this, never in the history of this country, came before the American people, and it is nothing more nor less than this—Shall the iniquitous Fugitive Slave bill, which subjects every free colored man, woman and child, to be seized upon, handcuffed, and plunged into perpetual Slavery? Shall the blood-thirsty slaveholder be permitted by this unrighteous law to come into our domicils, or workshops, or the places where we labor, and carry off our wives and children, our fathers and mothers, and ourselves, without a struggle—(loud cries of "No, no,")—without resisting, even if need be, unto death. (Cheers.) Or, shall we sit down and tamely submit our necks to the halter, and our limbs to the shackles, and clank our chains to the sweet music of passive obedience. (No, no.) And every step which we may take, whether it be backwards or forwards, will be followed by consequences too vast, too momentous, to be considered by any one present; upon your decision this night hangs suspended the fate of millions. This "covenant with death, and agreement with hell," must be trampled under foot, resisted, disobeyed, and violated at all hazards. (Cheers.) When the mother country imposed upon the infant colonies the three-and-a-half per cent tax, and the stamp act, the very first blood that was shed was shed in resistance of the odious act by Attuck, a colored man; and the first martyr to American Independence, nobly led on the mob of white men, and was the first to receive the fire of the British soldiery, and throughout the revolutionary and late war, colored men stood side by side with white men, and achieved a most glorious victory in the name of liberty. We have met this night to decide, not whether we will pay the government a three-and-a-half per cent tax or an impost duty, but whether we will suffer ourselves and families to be made slaves. And oh, Powerful Goodness, Bountiful Father, Merciful Guide, increase us in that wisdom which discovers our truest interest. (Cheers.) Strengthen our resolution to perform what wisdom dictates. Let us be united as one man, regarding our rights as inherent and inalienable. There are a thousand and one ways by which the unsuspecting colored man, woman and child may be entrapped into the hands of the blackhearted villainous kidnapper, and spirited away into Slavery almost instantly. The case of James Hamlet, the fugitive, is in point, and if the information which I have received be not incorrect, I am told that his wife died this morning of a broken heart. (Murmurs, and oh! oh! from the females.) There is one victim. Will you submit that there may be more. (Loud notes.)

Hear ye no rumblings in the air;
Hear ye no earthquakes underneath,
Up, up, why will ye slumber where
The sleeper only wakes in death?

You are told to submit peaceably to the laws; will you do so? (No, no.) You are told to kiss the manacles that bind you; will you do so? (No, no, no.) The law is made by the people. The people have told you that you must do so; will you obey them? (No.)

In company with Mr. Lewis H. Putnam, I called upon Mayor Woodhull to know whether the civil authorities would protect free colored persons from being carried into Slavery. Unable to find His Honor, we addressed the following communication:

"September 30, 1850—3 o'clock, P. M.

To His Honor, C. S. Woodhull:

Sir:—The undersigned take this method to address this communication to you as the Chief Magistrate of the city of New York, to ascertain what protection we, the free colored people, may expect under the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law. The peculiar position we occupy in this State—depending upon the magistery of the People of New York to defend her citizens against the operation of an unjust law, we solicit in the name of our families that information from you which the nature of the case demands

Respectfully, &c.
WILLIAM P. POWELL.
LEWIS H. PUTNAM.

N. B.—Please answer* and address
William P Powell,
330 Pearl street.

Up to this hour, (7½ o'clock, Oct. 1., 1850) that functionary had not thought it worth while to give an answer.*

The several sections of the Fugitive Slave Bill were then read amid interruptions, execrations, and cries of shame. At the conclusion a voice in the gallery asked was there no more of it, an interrogatory which excited the risibilities of some, which were, however, checked by the President, who told them it was too solemn a question for merriment.

The following letters were then read to the meeting:

LETTER FROM ALANSON NASH.

New York, October 1st, 1850.

Gentlemen:

I received your communication of the 27th of September last, requesting my opinion as to the constitutionality of the recent law of Congress relative to Fugitive slaves. In reply, I state that the law as passed by Congress has many objectionable features in it. Indeed, it obviously infringes upon the Constitution of the United States, in several particulars:—

First. It suspends the writ of *habeas corpus*, contrary to the second subdivision of the ninth section of the national constitution.

Second. It is in violation of a portion of the fifth article of the amendments, which declares that no person shall be deprived of Life, Liberty, or Property without due process of Law.

Third. It is in violation of the seventh article of the Amendments, which declares, "That in suits at common law where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars the right of trial by jury shall be preserved."

Fourth. It is in violation of the spirit and force of the Constitution of the United States, which declares that the Judicial Power of the United States shall be vested in one *Supreme Court* and in such *Inferior Courts* as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish according to art. 3, sec. 1, of said constitution. In as much as the Fugitive Slave Law confers judicial powers of the very highest nature upon commissioners who are not judges of any court, nor can they have judicial powers conferred upon them without constituting them in direct terms a Court.

An U. S. Commissioner is an inferior officer: he is no judge: he has no clerk: he holds no court, and his proceedings are not subject to review.

The Congress of the United States possesses no power to pass a law that a citizen of the State of New York shall be taken and carried to South Carolina, and, in the latter State, to be tried whether he is a free man or a slave in New York.

The doctrine that a man may be seized in England and carried to France and there tried whether he is a free man or a slave in England is contrary to all known laws.

And so far as the rights of citizens of the State of New York are concerned, the arrest of such persons here and the sending of them to other States for trial of their rights under the laws of the State of New York is as much a violation of law as though the man had been seized in England carried to France to try by the judicial tribunals of the latter country the rights of the man so seized in England.

The whole spirit of this Act called the Fugitive Slave Law takes away the rights and personal liberties of the citizens of each State.

The ninth article of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States are in these words:—

"The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

So article tenth of the amendments says that—

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibted by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

Now the powers reserved to the States and the rights retained by the people consist among other things of those of a trial by jury, where life, liberty, or property are concerned.

And also the right of each State to determine whether its own citizens are fugitives from service or not.

Congress has not power to pass laws that shall deprive a citizen of this State of his life, liberty, or property, or of preventing each citizen of calling to his aid a trial by jury, when either his life, liberty, or property is involved.

The writ of *habeas corpus* and the right of trial by jury for each citizen are amply provided for by the Constitution, and the laws of the State of New York: and whenever a person is arrested under the provision of the Fugitive Slave Law, such person has the right to a writ of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury under our own State laws.

There is one feature in the late law of Congress relative to slaves which seems to be a full recognition of the principle: That all slaves brought into the State by their masters are thereby made free.

And also that all children born in a free State of a fugitive slave mother are also free.

The Fugitive Slave Law no where provides that a person making oath under this law and swearing corruptly and falsely shall be guilty of perjury or liable to any pains or penalties for committing perjury. Nor does the law make it obligatory on the claimant of a fugitive slave to take him back when reclaimed to the place whence he escaped. But a man from Charleston, South Carolina may arrest a free man in New York and carry him direct to the *slave pens* at Baltimore and sell him to a *negro trader* and then land him directly into the swamps of Louisiana, whenever he can obtain a certificate from a commissioner, rightfully or wrongfully.

The Constitution of the United States evidently contemplates that the people of the several States shall be deprived of no rights which are guaranteed to them by *the State Laws and Constitution.*

The Constitution of New York declares that the trial by jury in all cases in which it has been heretofore used shall remain inviolate forever.

And further that no *member* of this State shall be disfranchised or deprived of any rights or privileges secured to any citizen thereof unless by the law of the land and judgment of his peers

In this latter section the word *member* is used in contradiction to the word *citizen.*

The people of this State have intended that every person found in this State shall have the benefit of our laws.

The stranger who sojourns here, be his color black, white, or red, is equally entitled to the protection of our laws.

The great Bill of Rights called the *Magna Charta* declares that no man shall be seized or imprisoned or exiled, or in any manner destroyed or condemned or passed upon unless by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

It is the birth right of every man, and the people of the States and of the United States have never given up this right to Congress to pass laws to take it away. Suppose a man arrested is a slave, who knows most about it, his family and friends, or his claimant?

Suppose he is a freeman, who is to determine this question? Is a Commissioner *ex parte* in a secret session? And without a hearing of the allegations from the accused, or a Jury who can investigate patiently all the facts of the case?

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*Friday, Oct. 4—1, P. M. His Honor the Mayor has just assured me "that in case of arrest of Fugitives, he has forbidden the Policemen or any other officer of the Corporation from assisting the slaveholder in returning slaves under the late act of Congress; but as to what course the free colored people ought to pursue in the event of seizure, not having read the Fugitive Law he was unable to say." I assured his Honor that in the event of my friend Robert Hamilton (who was present) being arrested under the Fugitive act with intent to reduce him to Slavery, that we would not *allow him to be taken* out of the city—to which the Mayor made no reply. W. P. POWELL.

Once send a man into Slavery, under a Commissioner's Certificate, and how is he to obtain his freedom when wrongfully wrested from him?

A person once condemned by an United States Commissioner to Slavery, is forever deprived of his freedom. He is a slave for life, and all his fraternity.

He might as well expect to get an audience of the Monarch of Great Britain as to obtain relief through any Judicial Tribunal in the Slave States, or in those of the United States.

The door is forever shut to him after he has once passed into a Slave State.

I have no doubt that in all cases where a person may be arrested in this State, under the late act of Congress, that he is entitled to, and he and his agent or friends can sue out, a writ of Habeas Corpus in our State Courts, and there try the question whether he is fugitive slave or not. Here he will at least have a fair trial.

I am, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
ALANSON NASH.

To Messrs. Powell, Smith and others, Commit. &c.

LETTER FROM THADDEUS STEVENS.

Washington, September 29, 1850.

Dear Sir: I can give but little hope that the infamous Slave Law will be declared unconstitutional. I can advise nothing better than that the subjects of it put themselves beyond its reach.

With great respect,
Your obedient servant,
THADDEUS STEVENS.

W. P. Powell, 330 Pearl st. N. Y.

Mr. George T. Downing then read the following resolutions, which were received with cheers and expressions of approbation:—

Whereas, the Congress of the United States has passed a law for the avowed purpose of reclaiming persons owing service in one State, and escaping into another, and approved by Millard Fillmore, the President of the United States, on the 18th day of September, 1850;—

And, whereas, the operation of said law allows any person in the Southern States to go into any court, or before any Justice of the Peace, or any other person authorized to take depositions in any State or organized Territory of the United States, and swear that any colored person owes him or her service or labor, and has escaped therefrom, and may take out a warrant for the arrest of such person in any United States Court, in any State or Territory, and seize such person, with or without a warrant, and command the assistance of bystanders to make the arrest:—

And, whereas, any person so arrested may be taken before any United States Court in any State or Territory of the United States and deprived of his or her liberty in a summary manner, by any Judge, Justice, or Commissioner of the United States—

And, whereas, any person so arrested and tried, is stripped of the right of trial by jury, deprived of the writ of *habeas corpus*, contrary to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

And, whereas, any white person may seize and arrest any colored person, and drag him or her, by violence, before any United States Judge, Justice, or Commissioner, and swear away the liberty of any person so arrested—

And, whereas, any person assisting another to escape, either before or after trial, or is known to conceal a person claimed as a slave, is subject to a fine of one thousand dollars; and thus in every way placing the liberty of colored persons in every State or Territory of this Union, completely at the mercy of slaveholders, or their agents, with every safeguard of liberty stricken down—Therefore,

1. Resolved, That we utterly repudiate the law and its provisions; that it is so repugnant to every principle of justice, that it can have no binding force whatever upon us; and that we do here, in the sight of God and before all men, declare that should any one attempt to execute its provisions on any one of us, either by invading our home or arresting us in the street, we will treat such an one as assaulting our persons with intent to kill, and, God being our helper, will use such means as will repel the aggressor and defend our lives and liberty.

2. Resolved, That we are worthy neither of our homes nor of the confidence of our wives and children, unless we are prepared to sacrifice ourselves freely, if necessary, on the altar of freedom and in their defence.

3. Resolved, That the teachings and examples of our countrymen, the promptings of our nature as men, as well as our duty towards God, tell us, that whenever the unjust provisions of this law against God and humanity shall be attempted to be enforced against either of us, it were far better that a thousand lives perish in the rescue, than that a single human being permitted to be dragged from our midst into hopeless bondage; and that we desire no grave prouder than that over which shall stand the monument, and no page of history prouder than that which shall record the deed of such rescue.

4. Resolved, That it has ever been our aim and earnest desire, to be good law-abiding citizens, and that we will strive such to be; nevertheless, we cannot, for one moment, entertain the idea of compliance with the terms of that bill, its force being lost in the fact that it is at variance with the laws of our nature and of God; and further, because, we believe it to be at variance with the spirit and letter of our Declaration of Independence, and of the Constitution established under that Declaration.

5. Resolved, That the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Bill of 1850, leaving us no other alternative, we must adopt the motto of our sister State, Virginia—"Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

6. Resolved, That we declare to Mason, and the aiders and abettors of this arbitrary and despotic law, in the language of Daniel Webster, "that there is something on earth greater than arbitrary and despotic power; the lightning has its power, and the whirlwind has its power, and the earthquake has its power—but there is something among men more capable of shaking despotic power than lightning, whirlwind, or earthquake—that is, the threatened indignation of the civilized world."

7. Resolved, That "God willed us freemen—man willed us slaves—we will, as God will, God's will be done."

8. Resolved, That inasmuch as desperate efforts are being made to reclaim fugitives who have fled for liberty, to reclaim them at all costs, we, sympathizing with such fugitives, and believing that they would be justified therein by the promptings of nature, by the precepts of Patrick Henry and of Washington, by the glorious example of Madison Washington, do council them to do as we would—to arm themselves with the surest and most deadly weapons; to resist unto death, for which, if they be not prepared, we advise them to repair, with all possible despatch, to where the law, as well as nature, proclaims them free.

9. Resolved, That in giving ten millions of dollars to the South, for land which the South never owned—in promising to pay one thousand dollars each to the South, for every bondsman who may escape therefrom—in converting her once free soil into a hunting ground for the panting fugitive, and in offering to her own citizens a bribe on the one hand to join in the chase, and fine and imprisonment on the other hand for refusing to do so, the once free North has sold herself, body and soul, to the dark spirit of Slavery; and has, through her chosen President and subservient members of Congress, declared, "in tones that will pierce the ears of half the human race, that the last great experiment of Representative Government has failed," and has "caused millions of eyes of those who fed their inherent love of liberty upon the success and prosperity of the American example, to turn away from our deep disgrace, with dissatisfaction and disgust; and has caused the doctrine of the divine right of kings to feel, even in its grave, a returning sensation of vitality and resuscitation."

10. Resolved, That we call upon all American citizens who have any regard for constitutional law, or any reverence for the history of our glorious past, or any pride in our national reputation abroad, to join in the cry of repeal—repeal the infamous bill, which barters the life and liberty of a freeman for the oath of any wretch who may swear that he is a slave,

11. Resolved, That we will circulate petitions to the Legislature of this State, calling for a law to protect its free colored citizens from Slavery; and for resolutions instructing the members of Congress to urge the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Bill.

12. Resolved, That we will send petitions to Congress praying for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Bill of 1850.

13. Resolved, That actuated by nothing other than pure humanity, in attempting to carry out these resolutions whenever necessity requires them, we will further endeavor to infuse their healthful spirit into the minds and hearts of our fellow-citizens.

14. Resolved, That the President of this meeting be appointed to receive the names of all persons who may be willing to act on the secret committee; and all persons who are fugitive to report themselves to the Chairman of the meeting, who must have their real name, and the name of their master, in order that the secret committee may know what to do in the premises.

Mr. Downing then said that he had nothing to remark but that these resolutions, though strong, were the sentiments of his heart, and he declared that whenever he saw the "panting slave" he would assist him by every means in his power. (A voice.—And so will the white men, too.) Mr. D. continued.—We have to come to this determination—to die, or to teach the individual who undertakes to carry out the provisions of this bill, that his life is in danger. I am a father, and bound by every tie to protect my wife and children, and here I declare that if any man—any fiend in human shape—dare to cross the threshhold of my castle, I'll send him to h—ll before he shall accomplish his mission. (Vociferous cheers.) I have used that harsh word because I do believe that any one who engages in such a mission is a servant of the d—l, and dying in that service he must go to h—ll. (Cheers.) By the provisions of the bill, I might be liable to be seized. And suppose I am not, how many are there here who do not hold as prominent a position as I do, and who may be made liable to the bill? With them I feel. (Hear, hear.) I call on you, not to go out to battle, but to arm yourselves for liberty. Mr. Downing concluded by reading a letter which the committee had sent to Horace Greeley, asking him to explain some matters with respect to the course of President Fillmore on the question, but which Mr. Greeley, for reasons best known to himself, had not answered.

Dr. Smith rose and said, in the year of grace 1850, and, 74th of our Independence, which we had reason to be thankful to Divine Providence, it has pleased the American Congress to suspend the habeas corpus act. The papers to-day, if Queen Victoria had a blister on her toe, or some freeman were shot down in a petty German principality, would be out in full cry about the melancholy event and the horrible butchery. We would have *Extra Heralds* and *Extra Tribunes* shouting it through the city; but when the great charter of human liberty is suspended, there is not a single whisper about it. But, thank God, we stand here, to-night, not as slaves cowering under the lash of our tyrants—no; we stand here as free American citizens, and, with the blessing of God, we will not desist until this odious bill is repealed. I wish to know if, in a few months, when Daniel Webster is sitting at his fireside, in Marshfield, and an officer comes with his papers, describes him as a large dark man, with a large head and big mouth, although I don't know that his mouth is as big as that of Henry Clay, what would Mr. Webster say if he were carried before a magistrate, and after that hurried away as fast as steam can carry him, to Alabama, or somewhere else? where he never would afterwards be heard of? He advised that one of their first duties was to have a committee of two appointed, who would be always on hand to give evidence and aid in favor of the poor fugitive. He further advised that subscriptions should be immediately entered into by all the colored people, to assist their colored brethren who would seek their liberty in the Eastern States; and described the death of Hamlet's wife, and said that a coroner's inquest should be held on her body—that Millard Fillmore, Daniel Webster, and Horace Greeley should be summoned as witnesses; and that on her tomb should be written "the first victim to the act of Congress of 1850." Dr. Smith then sat down.

It was then announced that a collection would be taken up to defray the expenses of a number of fugitive slaves who are now in this city on their way to Canada.

John S. Jacobs, a fugitive, then came forward and spoke nearly as follows:—He said he came here to-night to give some advice, and to extend the hand of fellowship to his colored brethren. He said: My colored brethren, if you have not swords, I say to you, sell your garments and buy one. He regretted that he was not here in time to hear the resolutions read, to know if they were strong enough. If there be any man here to-night who wants to know my name, tell him it is John S. Jacobs, of South Carolina, and that I am an American citizen, that I never denied that name, neither did I ever disgrace it. They said that they cannot take us back to the South; but I say, under the present law they can; and now I say unto you, let them only take your dead bodies. (Tremendous cheers.) This is no time, my friends, to laugh; let us go to the house of mourning, and see the dead body of the wife of Hamlet, and her surviving infants. Well, I would rather see her body dragged to the stake than see her dragged back again into Slavery. I, would my friends, advise you to show a front to our tyrants, and arm yourselves; aye, and I would advise the women to have their knives too. But I don't advise you to trample on the laws of this State, but I advise you to trample on this bill, and I further advise you to let us go on immediately, and act

glorious battles that were fought in this country, from the first revolution to the late war with Mexico the only argument he would use against this hell hatched code —the Fugitive Slave bill—was the bowie-knife and the revolver. They want to drag the blackmen and black women out of this country; but I tell you we have as good a right here as any white man or woman. He then said the locofocos went to Syracuse, to eat up John Van Buren and all the free soil niggers. It was the negroes elected Mr. Fillmore, and now he pays us off with big bills, and that is the reason they kept dark about it; and only the election is near at hand, Horace Greely would publish it.

Mr. ST. REMMY, from Canada, next addressed the meeting. He related several old anecdotes in reference to the fugitive slaves from the States then in Canada. Many years ago a slave was arrested under the pretence of stealing a watch; but in fact, he was a fugitive slave, and was thrown into prison for several weeks, and was finally conveyed off by his master.—Therefore, he said, if the slave seeks Canada for refuge a better organization must be gone into; good lawyers must be engaged; yes, I mean good ones—lawyers who can command respect, or the Judges will be against you; one Judge in particular—I mean Judge Sherwood You must, gentlemen, to the rescue. It must be done. I, for myself, will do my part. I am willing to take my revolver and take my own part. I say first, "rescue the fugitive slave," second, send him to Canada; and, thirdly, "self defence." We will not fight; willingly; we do not intend to provoke a fight; but let us protect the slave here. We ought to aspire to something more than servile labor; let us dig the ground and not black the shoes. (Applause.) It is a fact that all the colored people do not know how to read, but they know how to fight. After the noise had subsided a little, the speaker continued; The white gentlemen uphold their respect by fighting duels: and, my friends, if you want to carry your points, and command respect you must fight. (Overwhelming applause, and exclamations of "we will, that we will.")

Mr. DOWNING, then announced that he was informed the wife of the fugitive slave, had died that day of a broken heart, at Williamsburgh, and proposed to raise a subscription, for the purpose of paying the funeral expenses; he said it would be a shame to allow any other persons to do that honor, than this meeting. Accordingly, the hats and plates were handed around, and $15,80 was soon collected. After the money was counted.

A PERSON rose and wished to know if the sister of Mrs. Hamlet was present; if so let her come forward, as the fact was necessary, to know if she was dead. He said that a number of persons were present from Williamsburgh up to a late hour from that place and none had learned the fact of her death. After many calls for the sister to come forward, no one appeared, and it was finally concluded that the statement was false—that she was not dead. But, whether dead or alive, said one of the speakers, the money collected shall be appropriated for her benefit; but we do not wish to collect money to bury a woman who is not dead. (Laughter.)

BENJAMIN STANLEY, a very dark complexioned man from North Carolina, (said to be, by several colored men present, a distant relation of Mr. Stanley, the member of Congress,) addressed the meeting with a good deal of spirit. Said he, go to your homes, good wives and prepare them to receive your husbands and friends with bruised arms and broken heads. For his part, he recommended them to arm the slaves with bowie knives and revolvers; and arm yourselves, like men, and rescue—yes that is the word—you must do the work. The poor fugitive slave, you must recollect, has not the courage of you men north, nor of the men who have escaped from Slavery for several years. No, gentlemen they are fearful, and know not what to do—they are trembling in their boots, in fear of their master conveying them back to bondage. Yet, gentlemen, shame to relate, you suffer a man to be taken from your midst.—Yes, in a population of 25,000 colored people, to be seized at noonday, the manacles put upon him, and he carried off, by force, back to chains and Slavery. I say again, the fugitive slave is not safe here; but if they do remain here, you must protect them; they have not the courage necessary to protect themselves; you must do it, and show that a population of twentyfive thousand colored people will not allow the fugitive to be conveyed back to bondage. (Great cheers.) New York must be the battle ground. We cannot battle at the South, and therefore it must be done here. (Applause) If it is not worth fighting for here, it is not worth fighting for at all. (Cheers and applause.) An Albany paper remarked, the other day, that it was good to get rid of a worthless population. What would they say to put a white loafer—yes a dirty white loafer, who rolls about in the mud gutter, into chains? And will you stand by and see one of your own color thrown back into chains and Slavery? (Immense excitement, with cries of "No, no, no, never!") And let me tell the fugitive slave to supply himself with a bowie knife; and if he cannot get arms to defend himself, let him hollow out, when seized and placed into a carriage, "kidknappers;" and will you stand peaceably by and allow him to be thus carried away? (Loud cries of "No, no.") Therefore, how much better it is for the fugitive slave to stay here, and, if he must die, to die with his friends; for, if he goes to Canada, he may be taken at last.—[Cheers.]

EDWARD V. CLARK, almost as black as the former speaker. He said that he did not agree exactly with the former speaker Said he, I am well aware that the fugitive slave law, just passed, is now the law of the land, and as to the principle of dying before your time, it was much better in theory than practice. For my past, was very sick the other day, and thought I should die; but still I had no inclination to leave this world [Laughter. Go on.] I am opposed to conflicting with the law. I don't know what I might do with a bowie knife or a revolver. I am greatly averse to taking life. Suppose, in defending one, we lose the lives of seven You see it would be a loosing game, you see clearly we lose. Now, I go for secreting the slaves; keep them private; shift them about, let each slave report himself to the secret committee. The law has been passed and it must be carried out—and sufficient force will no doubt be called to carry it into effect. However odious this law may be, still it is a law and all the lives we lose in opposing it, will be a dead lost to us. [Laughter.] I say again, keep the fugitive secreted. We can do it. If any of them have obtained a little money or property about them, let them at once make it over to some other person and move off out of reach. We shall gain nothing by fighting against the law.

REV. CHARLES B. RAY rose and announced that at 5 o'clock that afternoon the balance of the money had been paid in, making up the $800, for the liberty of Hamlet, the fugitive slave taken the other day to Baltimore; therefore he would come back to his wife and family. At this information, great cheering took place and soon after the meeting adjourned, it being then near 12 o'clock.

Great Mass Meeting in the Park.

A mass meeting of colored citizens was held in the Park, Saturday, Oct. 5th, 12 M.

Rev. JOHN PETER THOMPSON (colored) was appointed Prest.; Albro Lyons, J. M. Smith, Louis Napoleon, William C. Innis, Vice-Presidents; Wm. P. Powell, Secretary. The President said the honor was conferred so unexpectedly upon him, that he had not a word prepared to say to them, but Mr. Powell would now address them.

Mr. WM. P. POWELL (colored) then said—We have not come here to honor a man who has shed the blood of thousands, nor one who has distinguished himself in the councils of the nation, or for doing good to his country, but to honor a man, the first victim arrested under an unconstitutional act, and brought to trial without due process of law. I have to submit the following preamble and resolutions to the meeting:—

Whereas, Pursuant to the passage of the unconstitutional law enacted by Congress at its last session and approved of by the President, James Hamlet, a citizen of Williamsburgh, was arrested and sent into Slavery in the State of Maryland, without due process of law; and

Whereas, Through the generous contributions of kind friends in this city, the freedom of James Hamlet was purchased for $800, and he is now restored to the bosom of his family—Therefore,

Resolved, that we hail with joy this hour, not only because it restores to us our brother, whom we had given up as lost to the partner of his bosom—lost to his children and home—lost to friends and society—lost to all church privileges, and everything which illumines our pathway to the tomb—but because we believe it to be the beginning of the time of our complete enfranchisement.

Resolved, That we tender a thousand thanks to those noble men who have so generously contributed to the emancipation of James Hamlet, and we invoke upon them the blessings of the God of the oppressed.

Mr. POWELL, after concluding the reading of the resolutions, said:—You now see James Hamlet before you, redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled, not by the irresistable genius of universal emancipation, but by the irresistable genius of the almighty dollar. We are here to sympathize with him, because, in his person, American liberty has been struck down; and, thank God, he stands here as the resurrection of a better day. In the name of Almighty God and his holy angels, beneath an October sun, and in the name of humanity all over the earth, I welcome you, James Hamlet, back to your wife, your children and your home, once made desolate by an unlawful abduction of your person, but now to be made happy by your speedy return, not as slave, but as a *Freeman*. (Great sensation.

[Here Mr. Powell shook Hamlet by the hand; and those around followed his example—many of them sobbing and shedding tears.]

Rev. Mr. RAYMOND (who appeared to have about one-fourth, or even less, of dark blood in him) then came forward led by the hand, being partially blind, and on taking hold of Hamlet, he said, "praise God," and shook him warmly by the hand.

Rev. Mr. RAYMOND, then holding Hamlet's hand, said:—Will the audience observe that I am partially blind, yet I see James Hamlet, whose hand I hold; yesterday he was a chattel, to-day he is a man. (Cheers.) It is impossible to express the gratitude we feel to those friends who saved him by raising a subscription, and especially Mr. Woodgate, who went on to Baltimore and brought him back to his wife and children. As a Christian minister, as a fellow-traveller to the same eternity, I welcome him home. This is an epoch in the history of the colored population, and we enjoy a privilege to-day that I thought I never would see. We have come here, men, women and children, not to defend the rights of any particular party, but the party of Jesus Christ. (Cheers.) To the Mayor we return thanks for permitting us to stand on these steps to-day. We do it with all humility, though I never felt the spark of liberty kindling in my old bones as it has done to-day. Where are his children? Where the handcuffs that were applied to his delicate arms? They are left behind in Baltimore, to rust. I cannot but refer to that hell-concocted scheme, the fugitive slave bill. If the Hon. Mr. Seward were here, he would speak the sentiments of his mind, and say that the scheme was conceived in the bottomless pit, which Millard Fillmore signed in Washington. I prayed for that man, that his hand might be withered up, and the ink dried in the pen, before he committed so wicked an act. Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth! and ye infernal regions hear it in all your subterranean caverns, that Millard Fillmore has signed that bill! Thank God there is a conscience in this and other cities of the Union, that will yet wipe that bill from the statute book. I am proud that I am an American. I am of French descent, hailing for Old Virginia. We are a peace-loving people, law abiding, and we are not assembled here for the purpose of striking down our fellow men; but if we are compelled to defend our liberties, even with our lives, we shall do so. (Loud cheering.) Thanks to the New York *Sun*, which has defended the rights of the colored citizens. The *Journal of Commerce*, too, has thrown out remarks that will tell throughout the land. (Here a colored brother whispered to the speaker.) I am told that the *Journal of Commerce* is against the cause, but lent its influence towards the purchase of this man.

A voice in the crowd—Give the devil and Cæsar their due.

Rev. Mr. RAYMOND—What has the *New York Tribune* done? Horace Greeley was a man we all honored: but to this moment his paper is silent on the outrage committed. Where is the *Tribune*? Where is Greeley? I would have expected that he would have stood side by side with Seward.

A VOICE—He is there.

Rev. Mr. RAYMOND. Yes he is there; but does he speak through his paper on the wrong done to the colored men? I vote three groans for the *Tribune*. Our thanks are due to the Mayor, and we ought to express them by cheers. (Loud cheers.) I beseech you, Hamlet, take not flight to Canada, nor hide in the woods, but if you are to perish, perish here. (Great cheering.) I am told that we ought to be all armed with bowie knives. Now my armor is prayer, and I think that will be sufficient, and that no other man or woman will be carried into bonds. There will be no officer mean enough to do the dirty work of his satanic majesty. I hope that Mr. Gardiner, the United States Commissioner, will resign his office, and every other that is called upon to execute a law, that makes a man a chattel. It has been said that we are not citizens. I ask, are not we who have tilled the soil and developed the resources of the Empire State, citizens? (Cries of "we are, we are.") Anglo-Saxons, and Caucasans, you have received nutriment from the breasts of the black women of the South. (Great sensation.) Can you deny it?

MANY VOICES—They can't

Mr. ROBERT HAMILTON (colored) then addressed the meeting. He said, if they had taken the advice of the wretch who lives at 35 Third street, they would not see this blessed day. When the merchants went to Brown, about the wife and children of Hamlet, he told them they had better have nothing to do with the family of the man who had treated his (Brown's) mother so badly as to run away from her. (Laughter.) What a shame, to run away from Slavery! (Renewed laughter.) The Mayor had given orders to the police to have nothing to do with the arrest of a colored man on such pretences. He (Mr. Hamilton) stood before them, the son of a man who had volunteered to fight for his country in the war of 1812. What was there to protect him any more than Hamlet? The only protection for both was their own right arms, and we know, continued the speaker, if we strike dead the man who claims another for his slave, we shall not be hung for it. (Cheers.) We are resolved to strike dead the first man who dares to lay his hand upon a brother to throw him into bondage. (Cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen you are in danger. If a marshal proceed to make an arrest upon any of you, he is compelled to read the warrant over twice, so that the party must understand what he is arrested for. Was this done in the case of James Hamlet? No, for his persecutors were afraid of the people. He was told that his presence was required as a witness, to testify in court against a man charged with theft. (Cries of "oh! oh!" from the women.) It was noised abroad that this meeting would be disturbed. It has not been disturbed, and we thank you, white men, for your sympathy and protection.

Mr. POWELL, here read the resolutions again, when they were put from the chair, and declared to be carried.

Rev. CHARLES B. RAY, (colored,) next addressed the meeting. He said there never was the like of this meeting before in New York, or in any other part of the country, as far as he had learned—a meeting of colored men but a very white colored one. [Laughter.] He was sorry it was not darker, but glad that so many white men had come to sympathize with them. But amidst all this sympathy they had fallen on evil times. An act has been passed by the American Congress the most wicked and most barbarous they ever passed; and this act was reserved for the nineteenth century, when Christianity is supposed to pervade all hearts. Is this act the law of the land? No! because it is devoid of justice, and immoral. It has been executed in a single instance in the Park. The result has been sympathy and redemption and the act will be repealed yet by true hearts. The men of the North will do it. We do not rejoice in any moral triumph to day, but only in the triumph of gold; but that is omnipotent in its influence, and with it we might purchase all the slaves. No man will say that the slave ought not to own himself. I care not what way freedom comes, provided it does come.

Mr. HAMILTON then took from his pocket a copy of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, from which he sung to the tune of "Away the Bowl," a song entitled. "Come all who claim the freeman's name," the whole assembly joining in the exercise.

This song was followed by great cheering, and loud cries for Hamlet.

HAMLET, who is a man of about thirty years of age and dressed as a laborer, then came forward and waved a white handkerchief amidst loud cheering.

A VOICE—Bring out the young Hamlets.

Here a sturdy colored man held aloft a child of about six years of age, and said, "this is the child of Hamlet."

Great excitement ensued.

When the wife of Hamlet was introduced, she, too, waved a white handkerchief. The woman all gathered around her, and embraced her. Such kissing and crying never were seen.

Here there were loud cries again for Hamlet to make a speech.

Mr. HAMILTON said the heart of Hamlet was too full to speak.

The CHAIRMAN—Here he is a free man—that is a speech in itself.

The meeting then adjourned, the Chairman exclaiming—"Rejoice my people."

Men woman and children then gathered around Hamlet, and gave him an awful hugging, and finally he was borne on their shoulders through the Park and down Spruce street to the Williamsburgh ferry, amidst cheering and shouting and rejoicing.

We have received two or three communications desiring to know what proportion of the money contributed for the emancipation of James Hamlet, was given by Abolitionists. We do not know the *politics* of all the donors, but are not aware that any of them are Abolitionists, in the technical sense of the word, unless Isaac Hollenbeck (colored) is of that way of thinking. Nor do we remember that on any previous occasion, when money has been raised, through this office, for the emancipation of slaves, anything has been given by Abolitionists proper, except perhaps $10 in all, by colored men. The amount so raised within the last five months, is $3,900, securing the emancipation of forty slaves, and the removal of thirty-nine of them to Liberia, together with eleven free colored persons belonging to the same families. And yet we are called "pro-slavery" men, and so are the donors of nineteen-twentieths, if not ninety-nine hundreths, of the whole amount. They, on the other hand, who make it a matter of principle not to give anything for the emancipation of slaves, but by their intemperate zeal and furious demonstrations have retarded the extinction of Slavery at least half a century, are in their own estimation the peculiar friends of the slave,—the real Simons. They are great at *stealing* slaves,—but to *give* anything for the emancipation of slaves, wounds their tender consciences, dear souls. The other day a man named Chaplin, of Albany, got caught in the act, down in Maryland, and was jugged. Anon the Abolitionists held a Convention at Cazenovia, and resolved to raise $20,000 in order to defend him from the penalties of the law. This $20,000, if applied as economically as the aforesaid $3,900, would secure the freedom of *more than two hundred slaves*. Applied to Chaplin's defence, it will only be expended upon lawyers, abolition lectures, &c. The time will come, we hope, when "things will be called by their right names."—*Journal of Commerce*.

The inquiry never need be made at the Anti-Slavery Office what share the *Journal of Commerce* and its friends have had in the redemption of slaves, as that paper is careful to keep the public accurately informed of its efforts in that regard; and it is almost impossible to escape the very obvious reflection that those who thus blazon their good deeds and point to their neighbors crying, "lo! we are holier than you," are not in these particulars only like to those of old time of whom it is written that they made broad their phylacteries, and loved to be seen of men praying at the corners of the streets, but were none the less the oppressors of the widow and the orphan. The *Journal of Commerce* has indulged itself a good deal of late in such sneers as that in the paragraph we quote above, and it is worth while to inquire how they are justified either by its own course, or that of the Abolitionists.

The *Journal* is famous among the daily papers for receiving and publishing a great many communications written by very silly people. The two or three above referred to must have been from this large class of that paper's correspondents. Nobody who has been aware of its relation to the Anti-Slavery Cause or to Anti-Slavery people for the last fifteen years, or even the last fifteen days, would have pointed at the possibility of any Abolitionist seeking such an agent for the disbursement of any sum he might see fit to bestow for an anti-slavery purpose. Men who have been engaged for years in any cause, and are familiar with its various and constant exigencies, are not apt to turn away from their fellows and entrust their means to the hands of those who have been uniformly opposed to them. A paper which has distinguished itself more than any other in the Northern States as the apologist of Slavery must first show something of a change of heart ere it can command the confidence of the men whom it has traduced and slandered for years, and whose cause it has done its utmost to overthrow. We should consider the Abolitionist who should thus trust the *Journal of Commerce* as weak as the foolish querists who ask how many do so.

Whether things are called by their right names now or not, or whether the *Journal* is anti-slavery or pro-slavery, it would be a waste of time to discuss. That paper knows very well what it has been, and what it is, and what it means to be. It very well knows especially whether the slaveholders consider it as the friend or the enemy of Slavery, and that it never has been, and never intended to be misunderstood, on that point If there is a newspaper in the country that has a decided and recognised character, it is the *Journal of Commerce*. There is no such thing as certain infamy if it does not belong to that paper.

If there were, however, any doubt on this point, the paragraph we quote would settle it. The *Journal* assumes to have been anti-slavery for precisely five months, and bases that assumption on the fact that during that time there has been raised through that office the sum of $3,900 for the purchase of slaves. But during this period of five months it so happens that there has been something else done beside the raising this sum to test the spirit of that paper, and General Lewis Cass, in a speech, last week, at Tammany Hall, especially thanked that paper for having contributed its great influence to settle the Slavery question as he and his party would have had it settled—that is just as the Slave-Power dictated. And as that Power could not get all it asked, the *Journal* has congratulated itself and the country, over and over again, that it got all it did, and especially that all the Northern States were opened to it as free hunting-ground, without let or hindrance, for the recovery of it fugacious chattels.

The *Journal* may believe that its readers approve—as probably most of them do—of this course, but surely it cannot pretend to think them so ignorant of the meaning of terms as to believe such a course *Anti*-Slavery. It would be very sorry to think they did.

The raising of the $3,900 then is its claim, and the only one it means to make to establish its title to an anti-slavery character. If it had adduced this fact to prove that it is merely Anti-Abolition—which is quite another thing—we should have permitted its plea to pass without comment, for that would have been entirely in keeping with its uniform course. It is, and always has been, *Anti*-Abolition, and it has given in this very transaction the very best evidence of that spirit. The whole of this sum—with the exception of the money paid for the purchase of Hamlet—was raised simply because the *Journal* is Pro-Slavery and not Anti-Slavery. The willingness of that paper to lend its influence to raise this sum is only a proof of its prurience for a traffic in human flesh. The slaves referred to were bought not so much to give them freedom as to prevent their having it. They were either of that class, which Pliny advised the slaveholders of his day should always be got rid of, the sick, the superannuated, and the useless, and who these masters, of course, were glad to sell at full prices for a new investment in younger sinews and fresher blood, but who might otherwise have been left to drag out their few remaining days in peace; or else they were among those few fortunate slaves whose owners' active consciences were fast impelling to restore them their freedom, and who would receive it unconditionally but for the interference of the Colonization scheme which permits, enjoin seven a compounding between repentance and penuriousness.—Thirty-eight out of the thirty-nine of the *Journal's* slaves were redeemed from a Slavery which use made, at least, tolerable to be shipped, against their will probably, to a deadly, inhospitable, and distant climate, where the only real freedom given them is the liberty to die of famine or of fever, or to drag out the weary life of a despairing and wretched exile. Such is the character of purchases of slaves for the colony of Liberia, and if there may sometimes be exceptions in individual cases, that does not alter the fact that the whole Colonization scheme is a gigantic fraud put in practice for no other purpose, however it may be disguised, than that of banishing from their homes the free colored people that slaves may be exempt from the dangerous example of freedom and Slavery rendered interminable.

For such purposes Abolitionists never have, and please God, never will give money. When they are willing to belie their name and turn their efforts to building up, not abolishing Slavery, they will entrust their funds to the *Journal of Commerce*, to devote as it has the $3,900 of which it boasts of raising. In the meantime they will rejoice when a wholesome fear of public excitement, and an apprehension of the popular indignation at all such traitors to Liberty, which must one day overtake the class which that paper represents, compel to a good deed like that of the purchase of Hamlet.

Progress of the Hunt.

EVERY day brings intelligence of the excitement which is awakening in all parts of the country as the character of the new Game Law becomes more and more apparent to the people, and new instances are made known of the successful running down of the flying men and women who are given over, by National Statute, as a prey to the hunters. We mean to mark, as we can, the progress of the Hunt, and of the opposition that is arousing to it.

A telegraphic communication, dated Bedford, (Pa.,) October 1, says:

"Ten Virginian runaway slaves lost their way on the Alleghanies, eight miles east of this. They were discovered last Monday, and attacked by Pennsylvania men. One slave was mortally wounded and another dangerously wounded. Both were captured next morning. Five of the number entered a mountain hut, occupied by a man and his wife, their clothes ragged from contact with the trees. The wife supplied the outcasts plentifully, whilst the husband procured assistance, captured them, and received $255 reward for the betrayal. Two yet remain hid. The Pennsylvania men are on the alert, eager for reward. They all subsisted on corn and apples."

Another from Honesdale, Pa. October 4, says:

"A great excitement has been created in this community by the appearance of two men from the South, who are after a beautiful creole, the wife of a Mr. Evans, and who, they say, is a runaway slave. If she is discovered, it will hardly be possible for them to take her, the feeling is so strong against them."

At Harrisburg, Pa:—

"The slaves who were confined some time since for riot, after being discharged on a charge of horse-stealing, were this afternoon brought before United States Commissioner McAllister, under the Fugitive Slave Law, when the property was proven, and they were delivered to their masters, who took them back to Virginia per railroad, without molestation."

A Telegraphic Dispatch from Detroit, published this (Wednesday) morning, says:

"*Detroit*, 8*th Oct.*—A negro has been arrested here to-day under the new law, and it has created great excitement. Hundreds of negroes are armed, and threatening to rescue the prisoner, whose examination takes place to-morrow.

SECOND DISPATCH.—

"*Detroit*, 8*th October*, 1850.—The examination of the fugitive slave took place to day. 'Scott's Guards,' 'Gray's Guards,' add 'U. S. Troops,' accompanied the prisoner from the jail to the Court Room, with loaded muskets. No attempts at rescue were made by the negroes and others, who had collected about the jail in hundreds. Some stones and buckets were thrown at the Marshal's carriage. The negro was sent to jail for a week, to await for eviednce, when the crowd dispersed.

The *Worcester* (Mass.) *Spy* of the 3d says:

"We learn that three slaves, heavily ironed, were taken through this place last week, on their way to the 'house of bondage' at the South, having been 'delivered up' by those who had the command of the Almighty that they should 'in no wise deliver up the fugitive to his oppressor.'"

Great excitement prevails in Pittsburg, and the largest meeting ever convened there has been held to protest against the law. Parties of fugitives are continually starting for Canada, armed to the teeth, and determined to fight their way if necessary. From two to three hundred have already departed.

A great meeting has been held at Syracuse. One of the speakers at this meeting, a distinguished lawyer, turning to the marshal, exclaimed—"There is a fugitive in my house at this moment; if you dare to arrest her your blood shall stain my threshhold!"

Sixteen fugitive slaves, on a boat for Canada, passed through Utica last week. They were well armed and determined to fight to the last minute.

At Oswego the colored people have armed and are determined not to fly.

A great meeting has been held at Albany, where there are said to be one hundred and fifty slaves.

At Springfield, Mass. the citizens in public meeting have declared that no fugitive shall be taken from among them.

At Worcester the excitement is said to be very great and the same feeling pervades the community as at Springfield. A telegraphic dispatch was received in this city, a few days since, to warn a fugitive, a resident of Worcester, but on a visit here, that the hunters were on his track. Of course he was put out of the way.

The Whig party of Massachusetts have taken up the matter, and at a local Convention at Northampton recommended the Legislature to appoint Commissioners to appear in behalf of every fugitive arrested.

The citizens of Lowell have held a meeting, and called back three fugitives who had fled for Canada, and promised them protection.

In Boston the colored people are stirring, and have adopted a series of strong Resolutions, and issued a spirited Address.

Rumors of arrests in this city reach us almost daily, but we cannot ascertain that they are authentic. We have heard of the escape of one fugitive who knocked down his two pursuers, and springing on board a ferry boat just as it was starting, escaped. The hunters followed in the next, but the game was gone, and the people gave them a brewer's reception.

☞ WE have been called upon by WILLIAM SMITH, an intelligent young man from one of the Southern States, who is asking—as he might well say, for the love of the Virgin—aid, to enable him to ransom his sister Frances, a beautiful girl of 17 years, who, unless he can raise $600 to purchase her, will be sold for the South Western States and a Market. William has purchased himself and his mother, but has not time to work out, in the sweat of his brow, the redemption of his sister, as the refusal granted him of her is limited. One thousand dollars have already been offered for her by a 'speculator,' who well knows the worth of a young girl, beautiful, intelligent, and nearly white, in the shambles of New Orleans. God help our Northern Christianity that such things be! but will he appeal in vain to Northern humanity?

The subject of the above paragraph, which appeared in the *Standard* of November last, walked into our office, a few mornings since, with a fine looking Quadroon, whom he introduced to us as the sister Frances in whose behalf he was seeking help a year ago. She is now a free girl, a deed of her having been given to the said Wm. Smith, for and in consideration of the sum of $600 paid by him for her soul and body, and he, the brother, having executed, in accordance with the law of this great Republic, at its Capital, a deed of manumission to her, "for"—so runs the deed—"the great love he bears her."

We are sorry however, to add that William was compelled to borrow a portion of the purchase-money needed, as the threat to sell her, to the South, compelled him to return from his Northern tour before the sum was completed. He at length induced two gentlemen in Washington to advance him the needed balance, persuading his sister's master to delay a sale till he was enabled to do this. His promise is given to return the loan before the 1st of January; and he appeals to his friends, and to those who would like to aid in the redemption of this young girl from captivity, and a fate far worse than if she had been born in Circassia and exposed for sale in the market place of Constantinople.

HON. J. R. GIDDINGS declared, in an address at Cleveland, a few days since, that a fugitive slave who had once been on foreign soil could not be reduced again to Slavery, and that decisions to that effect had made made by courts both North and South. If such a plea could be made effectual against the hunters, the fugitives might ensure their safety by a general stampede to Canada and back; but the difficulty, after all, would remain, of proving their freedom. Hamlet might have been in Canada—he might have been brought here by his mistress—he might have been manumitted by his master—he might have never been a slave—but what time or opportunity was there before Mr. Commissioner Gardiner to prove either of these things? None. Under the law, it is only necessary that somebody shall appear with an affidavit made, or purporting to be made, somewhere at the South, and declare that the person whom the Sheriff has caught for him is his slave; *and his slave he is declared to be* without any other evidence. Any shameless scoundrel, under the law, may take any man or woman, and secure him or her as a slave, no matter whether the object of his rapacity or lust be white or black, bond or free, native or foreign.

THE RIGHT SPIRIT.—The *Pennsylvania Freeman* says that Colonel Thomas L. Kane, of Philadelphia, promptly resigned his office of United States Commissioner, on receiving information of the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill, requiring United States Commissioners to aid in the capture and return of fugitive slaves: declaring his belief that "no honorable man can longer hold the office." It was a manly deed, and one we can not help hoping will have many imitators. To Colonel Kane, however, belongs the honor of being the first non-compromising officer under the United States.

THE FREE SOILERS of Massachusetts have nominated Hon. Stephen C. Phillips of Salem, and Hon. Amara Walker of South Brookfield, as their candidates of Governor and Lieut. Governor at the ensuing election.

LETTER FROM PARKER PILLSBURY.

WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

DEAR FRIEND GAY:

Before receiving this, you will have seen, and perhaps published, the official account of the recent Anniversary of the Western Anti-Slavery Society. Had I intended only to write an account of that meeting, this would be a late hour for it; but I have deferred until the close, or nearly the close, of my pleasant mission to the West, so as to give some little account of that also

Could the Executive Committee have attended our late Anniversary at Salem, they would never have felt that any appropriations of money or labor which have yet been made for the West, have been misapplied. I never saw such an Anniversary, though I have attended many. The way had been thoroughly prepared, by a series of the largest and most efficient local Conventions ever held in Ohio, excepting, perhaps, those held during Mr. Garrison's visit to the State, three years ago. At these Conventions, James W. Walker, H. C. Wright, and myself, had endeavored to do the best work of which we were capable; while Abby Kelley Foster most certainly *out-did her very self* (and what more could be said), performing an amount of labor, not only in lecturing, but in raising funds to discharge the liabilities of the Society, and in procuring subscribers for the Bugle and the other Anti-Slavery papers, such as I have never seen equalled in the same time, since my connexion with the Anti-Slavery Enterprise; and this is as true of the success attending as of the labor performed. She has returned home since the Anniversary, carrying with her the affection and gratitude of a multitude of friends, and the admiration and respect of even her enemies.

The Annual Meeting was most numerously attended. The Resolutions passed, you will see, have little in them of "concealment or compromise;" and with equal truth can the same be said of the remarks and addresses made in their support.

Some of the scenes of the last two days, I have heard the oldest Abolitionist say, they have never seen equalled, in interest, impressiveness and solemnity. It seemed as if the Divine Presence of the genius of Humanity and Liberty was hovering over us, baptizing us all into its own spirit and power.

Mrs. Foster had, as we supposed, reached and drained almost every pocket on the Reserve and other places, to pay off the debts of the Society; still, a subscription was raised that wanted only the 200 dollar gifts of the few rich men at the East to exceed that of any, I think, which has been raised at our New England or Massachusetts meetings for years. As yet, the West has few rich men at all; and those who are so, are, most of them, very far from being consecrated to the cause of Humanity But be sure that, rich or poor, there are no more generous and self-sacrificing spirits any where than can be found in the new settlements of Ohio, and other portions of the Western Country.

The parent organization has done much for the Western Society; but there never was a field of greater promise. Not a seed has been sown that has not taken root—not one which has not already yielded the first fruits of what will yet be an abundant harvest.

But let me not forget to say that though the child seems now almost the full grown man, indeed almost a giant, even in its infancy, there are reasons why it should still be watched over with all of maternal solicitude. The want of efficient lecturers is most severely felt, even in New England; but it appeals here with redoubled force. We make many converts, and often they are from the very best informed men and women in the community. But such is the extravagance of our positions, such the extreme radicalness of our doctrines, and such the number, strength and subtlety of our opponents, that it is a highly commendable modesty and distrust which makes most of our new accessions shrink from encountering the enemy in the open field of discussion. It is so in the East. *It is most emphatically so in the West.* And this fact should be kept constantly before the eye of the parent Society, that so every part of the field may receive its due share of culture. I think the West will raise its full proportion of money. But of field agents, at present, I feel impelled to speak with less confidence. Material of the highest order there is in abundance; could it be put in requisition. But our new converts see that our enemies sometimes are not easily met and vanquished, even by experienced veterans in the warfare; and who can wonder that they so generally shrink from the fearful encounter?

Another reason why the West should yet be held in solicitous consideration is, that the new Fugitive Slave Bill must be felt here, as it will scarcely be any where else. That unhallowed Edict (which would dishonor a Senate of Devils) was passed for Pennsylvania and Ohio, particularly the latter. It is here that it will be felt in all its terrible terrors, should it be put in general execution. Judge McLean has already proved himself the rival of Judge Jeffries in tyranny and atrocity. Fugitive slaves are dotted, like commas and semicolons, all over the broad pages of the Western States. Western Abolitionists must see them plunged down again into the perdition whence they had escaped, or sacrifice their property to the last farthing, and perhaps their lives also, for their protection The fugitives themselves are filled with apprehension and terror. They are leaving the comfortable homes they have made, or are making, and scudding, in multitudes, to the only "City of Refuge" within their reach, in the frigid, forbidding forests of Upper Canada; others are arming themselves with deadly weapons, and determine to fight it out with the kidnapper to the very death. In this latter resort, they are aided, I am informed, by many of the white people of all political parties; so also in escaping to Canada. At our meeting last evening, somebody proposed a collection to help off a family, a part of whom were then in the house. The husband had, in two years, won the respect and even affection of every one around him; and with a most mournful pleasure did his friends thus aid him in this his dreadful extremity.

Some of my recent meetings have presented scenes to me perfectly overwhelming. I have read and commented upon the new Fugitive Law until Non-Resistance seemed to set, like the North Star, as you advance far into the Southern Hemisphere, and was seen no more. Men have risen and demanded that money be raised on the spot to arm every fugitive slave in the vicinity not able to arm himself. Slaves have asked, in trembling accents, "*will you defend us, or must we flee.*" Neighborhood associations are forming, determined to stand by each other at every hazard. Men are deeding away their property, to be held in trust for the benefit of their children, to save it from becoming a prey to merciless tyrants, as a fine and penalty for the act of aiding the poor outcast—the holiest act they could perform—an act that all heaven must approve, or heaven would be worse than hell.

I can counsel no violence. Instead of counseling it, I disapprove it, both from principle and policy. But men must and will act for themselves.

From the representation I have given of the condition of things in the West, the Executive Committee of the American Society will, I trust, see the propriety and importance of still watching over the cause here with a guardian care.

I have never performed a more laborious mission than the present; but what I have seen and heard would compensate for one far more so. We have held meetings nearly every day and night since I came here, early in August; and every meeting has been crowned with success. The Bugle, under the editorial guidance of Oliver Johnson, is doing a most excellent work, and should receive every encouragement. The Executive Committee are true to the doctrines of uncompromising hostility to Slavery, efficient and energetic in devising ways and means, and carrying forward the great enterprize committed to their trust. It is both an honor and a pleasure to co-operate with them.

The Society is now relieved from its burden of debt, has purchased the whole printing establishment of the Bugle, has secured, for the present, the invaluable aid of its present editor, and has a handsome sum already in, or pledged to, its treasury, to prosecute its future operations.

My space forbids that I say more. The Star that appeared in the East, near twenty years ago, the Day Star, the Star of Bethlehem to the bondman, is fast ascending, and shining down into the plains and prairies of the West. Its midnoon may not be fully climbed until it reach the meridian of the grave of Lovejoy; but in that hour, if not before, I trust the deliverance of the last slave shall be sung with harps that may have long hung on the willows of heaven, and by the same celestial choir that once sang *Peace on Earth*, Good Will to Men, to ancient shepherds on the plains of Judea.

Yours, full of joyful anticipation,
PARKER PILLSBURY.

PILLSBURY, Pa., Oct. 4, 1850.

MARRIAGES.

WHITRIDGE—HAMMOND.—In Boston, 1st instant, by Rev. Dr. Gannett, Dr. J B. Whitridge, of Charleston, S. C., to Miss Caroline Hammond, daughter of Daniel Hammond, Esq., of Boston.

WAGER—WILDER.—At Hawthorn Grove, Dorchester, Mass., September 26, Ambrose Wager, Esq., of Rhinebeck, N. Y., to Maria Louisa, daughter of Hon. Marshall P. Wilder.

BATEHNM—CUSHING.—At Oberlin, Ohio, Sept. 27, by Prof. H. Cowles, Mr. M. B. Batehnm, Editor of the Ohio Cultivator, Columbus, to Mrs. Josephine Cushing, step daughter of Prof. Cowles, of Oberlin.

FOSSELART—GRATTAN.—In London, August 14, Monsieur P. Bartholeyns de Fosselart, Attache of the Belgian Legation in London, to Emma Jane, daughter of T. C. Grattan, Esq., late Her Majesty' Consul for the State of Massachusetts.

FLETCHER—MALAN.—In Geneva, Switzerland, August 29, Rev. James Cooley Fletcher, of Indianapolis, to Miss Henrietta, daughter of Rev. Dr. Malan, of Geneva.

HALL—MALAN.—In Geneva, Switzerland, Rev. E. Edwin Hall, of Guilford, Ct., to Miss Celia Alexandrina, daughter of Dr. Malan.

OBITUARY.

AT Battle Creek, Mich., at the house of her sister, with whom she was passing the summer, ABIGAIL MOTT of Albany, aged 47.

Her last illness, billious fever, was of but two weeks duration. Her mind was calm, serene and cheerful to the last. Having a fragile physical constitution she had suffered much, at various times, with disease, and in this last sickness she often expressed the conviction that her vitality was so far exhausted she could no longer be useful here, and that, therefore, she was ready to depart. The change from this to another state had long been to her filled with delightful anticipations.

The large circle of Anti-Slavery friends to whom ABIGAIL MOTT's brilliant countenance and joyous voice so cheering from year to year in the Anniversary meetings, Conventions and Bazaars in New York, and occasionally in other places, cannot but be saddened that her personal presence is withdrawn. But who shall rise up to do that work which her quiet, unremitting, private exertions, in behalf of the down-trodden and crushed, were effecting on the community wherever she moved?

O! may her life be to us all an incentive to greater devotion

Miscellany.

J. AUGUST W. NEANDER.

PROTESTANTISM in Germany has of late been singularly unfortunate in the loss of its stoutest champions. Neander has soon followed his early friend and fellow-laborer De Wette. The present writer was in company with the former venerable theologian when the news of De Wette's death arrived, and well remembers with what heartfelt eloquence he deplored the loss, and bore testimony, in face of theological differences, of the importance of which no one was more deeply convinced than himself, to the purity of his intentions, and the utter guilelessness of his heart. The hearers, all young and ardent admirers of their benevolent host, little thought how soon the epitaph he was pronouncing on De Wette might be inscribed on his own tomb; for he was emphatically that which he designated his friend, an "Israelite without guile." A few particulars of the life and character of so celebrated a theologian cannot be altogether uninteresting even to English readers.

Johann August Wilhelm Neander was born of Jewish parents at Gottingen, January 16, 1789, but passed the greatest part of his youth in Hamburg, at the Gymnasium and Johanneum of which city he received his school education. In his sixteenth year he was converted to Christianity, and in 1806 proceeded to the University of Halle, and afterwards to that of Gottingen. His academical education finished, he first resided a short time in Hamburg, and then, in 1811, betook himself to Heidelburg, where he qualified as a public lecturer. So great was his reputation even at this early period, that in 1812 he was not only appointed extraordinary Professor of Theology at Heidelberg, but invited, after a few months' labor there, to occupy the higher post of ordinary Professor in the same faculty at Berlin, to which new-founded University Frederick William III. was at that time inviting all the youthful talent of Germany. From this time the life of Neander was without an event, except the successive publication of those works which have gained him an European reputation. We subjoin a list of the principal, premising, however, that there exist also an immense number of single lectures, addresses and historical monograms bearing his name, many of the latter possessing no small value to the historian, whose chosen sphere of labor might include the events of which they treat in detail. Neander's first work, "The Emperor Julian and his Age," Leipzig, 1812, at once attracted public attention to his powers as an ecclesiastical historian. It was speedily followed by "St. Bernard and his Age," Berlin, 1813; "A Display of the most remarkable systems of Gnosticism," Berlin, 1818; "St. Chrysostom, and the Eastern Church in his Times," Berlin, 1821; "Antignosticus," Berlin, 1826. About this time was published also his "Memorabilia of the History of Christianity and the Christian Life," 3 vols., Berlin, 1822–5—perhaps the most interesting of his works to the non-theological reader, as in it he succeeds in presenting to the student, without any obtrusive display of learning, many most interesting and valuable peculiarities of the early Christian life. It is, in fact, the quintessence, in an agreeable form, of all the historical hints scattered through the voluminous works of the Fathers All these works were, however, only preparatory to his great undertaking, "The General History of the Christian Religion and Church," which he had intended to bring down to modern times, but which, in its published form, stops at a period long anterior to the Reformation. Of the vast learning and Christian spirit of impartial charity displayed in this voluminous work, there is but one opinion; and although a student of English or French historical works might complain that the style wants the vivid conciseness to which he is accustomed elsewhere, yet even in this respect the book takes a creditable position in a literature where a good prose style is a thing rarely to be found. Yet, as Neander lectured to the last on the ecclesiastical history of the last three centuries, it was to be wished that some diligent student would do for him as Dr. Leonhard Schmitz has done for Niebuhr, and given to the world notes of his lectures, as some compensation for the incompleteness of his history. Nor in a list of his works must his "Life of Christ" be forgotten—a labor of love undertaken in answer to Strauss's celebrated book, and which happily avoids, in its treatment of that difficult subject, the pernicious extremes of prejudiced credulity and equally prejudiced scepticism.

But Dr. Neander was at least as earnest and successful in the exercise of his vocation as Professor. It is not uncommon for celebrated Professors in Germany to make their duties at the University as much as possible a matter of form, and to employ their best energies in the extension of their literary reputation. Professor Bockh, the well-known author of the "State Economy of Athens," and, since the death of Hermann and the retirement of Bekker from active service, indisputably the first Greek scholar of the continent, has a very confined course of lectures, which he has read to successive generations of students for upwards of thirty years. Not so did Neander. He justly regarded his duties at University as those which ought to occupy his best strength and first attention; and he was abundantly rewarded by the ever fresh admiration and love of his pupils. His lecture-room was a curious sight to a by-stander. He always used the largest hall in the building, that would hold about 450 students; and, before the late political disturbances had emptied the Universities, it was frequently full. The seats are arranged so as to slope from every direction down towards a moveable desk on a small platform, which stands against the longest wall of the room. The clock has struck; but the "auditorium" is still filled with a wild hubbub of students, with their caps on, smoking, laughing and talking All at once the door noiselessly opens, and a figure clad in a long cylindrical surtout, with a rag of white neckcloth carelessly twisted round a swarthy neck, glides to the desk with a somewhat fearful and helpless air. This is partly occasioned by the fact that his sight is far from good, partly that his shaggy black eyebrows prevent his seeing anything before him, except by an upward inclination of the head. He certainly does not look as if 400 eager faces were upturned to catch his first word; but in a moment caps have been doffed, cigars put aside, and all is order and attention. He lays his arm on the desk and his head on his arm; sways his body and the desk backwards and forwards, till the unaccustomed spectator momentarily expects him to crush the unfortunate youth who sits quietly writing beneath; seizes some stump of a quill which a provident student has placed for his accommodation, and, in the violence of the inspiration, tears and twists it to pieces, and pours out, in a harsh and loud voice, without a pause for three-quarters of an hour, a clear and connected history of the period under view. At first, the hearer is pained for him. He is subject to a disease of the stomach, which compels him to relieve himself while speaking by expectoration almost at the end of every sentence. He has no books to refer to, and his contortions are violent and odd, as those of the Phythian priestess on the tripod. Yet names, dates, facts, and even long quotations from the Fathers, come ever trippingly from his tongue; and after one lecture in such sort, the wonder is how either Professor or student can go on for two mortal hours in immediate succession; yet such was his practice even to the last. On referring to the list of lectures for the summer session of 1849, we find that, although he was then so blind as not to be able to read any Greek type, however large, and had the Acts of the Apostles, which he was engaged in expounding, copied out for him in round hand by one of the students, and although his general health was very feeble, he nevertheless persisted in lecturing fifteen hours per week. And the exertion will seem the greater when we recollect the size of the lecture-room.

But Neander's intercourse with his students was by no means confined to the lecture-room. He had set apart two evenings weekly for their special use. On one he was accustomed to meet a class, generally composed of those more immediately attached to his person, though admittance was free to all, coupled only with the obligation to attend with more scrupulous regularity than is often thought necessary at the ordinary lectures. Of the two hours thus occupied, one was spent by the students in translating some Greek or Latin father, accompanied by a running commentary of remark or question by the Professor; the other, in the reading of an essay on some religious or theological subject by one of themselves, followed by discussion, in which Neander took a leading part. Every Saturday evening, again, his library was thrown open to as many students as chose to come. A most chaotic scene it usually was. Books on the walls, tables, chairs and floor—birdcages, pictures and busts in every possible corner. Nor was it easy to get a seat without disturbing some portly folio, laden to the clasps with ecclesiastical learning. But in the midsts always sat the good Professor, in his old library gown, with a kind smile and an affectionate grasp of the hand for every comer; tea was on the table, to which every one helped himself, and the evening was quickly passed in

". . . . discursive talk,
From household fountains never dry."

Nor was even this all; for every Sunday as many students as his room would hold were invariably invited to dinner; nor will the chosen few who enjoyed this privilege soon forget the simple and quiet kindness of their entertainer. But the same remark applies to the whole of his intercourse with his pupils. No Professor in the University took so much pains to attach the student to himself, and none so completely succeeded. He had always a word of kindly advice to the wealthy, and often more substantial help to the poor. The plea of poverty never failed to draw from him a ticket of free admission to all his classes. His benevolence was so lavish and unsuspicious, as sometimes to lead to the surmise that his heart was too easily melted. And while no Professor was held in more respect for learning and ability by his colleagues and pupils, he alone enjoyed the singular distinction of being loved by every individual and hated by no party.

We may be expected to say something of the theological opinions of one whose activity as an author was so great, and whose labors at the University embraced every branch of scientific theology. The task is not an easy one. The lines of demarcation between schemes of theology are not so strongly marked in Germany as in England. Creeds are not so lengthy and precise, and more latitude is allowed in their interpretation. We do not pretend to say that this state of things at all conduces to theological honesty, but it certainly enables a theologian to indulge his speculations with less fear of disagreeable social consequences than with us; nor is he obliged to range himself, or allow himself to be ranged by public opinion, so decidedly under the banners of a sect. And when an English observer thus finds within the fold of the same church the disciple of Hengstenberg, the sturdy upholder of the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, and the pupil of Baur, who has so little respect to its plainest narratives as to elevate Paul to the central position in Christian history usually occupied by Jesus, he is unable to discover the use of a creed which possesses such marvellous powers of comprehension, and learns to ascribe to a theologian, not the general opinions of his party, but none which he has not heard from his own lips. Let it be enough for us, then, to say, that Neander strove to occupy a middle position between the theological extremes of his day; and in those questions of Biblical criticism which have lately occupied so much of the attention of the theological world, maintained this position with considerable success. To cases where the peculiarities of the individual mind, in its manner of estimating evidence, may exercise so large a disturbing power, the Horatian maxim is justly applicable. But we apprehend that most of our readers will agree with us, that a true system of Christian doctrine will hardly be obtained by striking an average between the extreme opinions of contending sects. And as our good Professor least loved to talk on doctrinal subjects, he perhaps himself felt the truth of this. He was rather wont to discourse on the inherent conflict between good and evil in the soul, and the work of the Spirit in securing and maintaining the final victory of the former, ascribing meanwhile an efficacy to Christ's death which he seldom clearly defined. In his view of the historical element of Christianity, his centre point was the Resurrection—of its spiritual efficacy, some not very distinct doctrine of an atonement. But the lesson which he had learned from the whole course of his studies, and the daily labor of his life, was the beauty and holiness of Christianity as a system adapted to human needs and affections; and on this he chiefly delighted to dwell. He was ever more attracted to spiritual holiness than to intellectual truth; loved to discover, wherever possible, "a soul of goodness in things evil;" exemplified in his own life not so much the Prophet as the Saint.

But we feel that we have been led by the warmth of personal attachment to expatiate more on this subject than the patience of our readers will willingly submit to. We have been partly desirous also to put on record those habits of intercourse with his pupils which made Professor Neander so widely loved, and procured him so powerful and lasting an influence over all who have ever enjoyed the benefit of his society. The closing scenes were in accordance with the rest of his life. Though sorely hindered, both by blindness and general bodily feebleness, for two years before his death, he persisted in his studies, by the aid of a friend, who read to him and wrote from his dictation. Even when continued study became impossible, and his lectures at the University were got through only with great difficulty, he dictated popular expositions of the Epistles for a periodical published in Berlin by some former pupils. At last the general weakness of his system resulted in diarrhœa, which would yield to no treatment; and on Sunday morning, July 13th, he literally fell asleep, to wake no more. His last words were, "I am tired, and I will go to sleep" His end was as peaceful as his life.

The details of the public funeral with which he was honored, of the orations which were pronounced over his grave, of the general grief manifested by all classes in the University, would possess little interest to the English reader. He died unmarried, but has left a sister, now advanced in years, who has been his constant and faithful companion throughout life. She will find her best consolation in the fact, that the gentle spirit who has been thus removed from her side still lives, not only in her true heart, but in the hearts and memories of all who were fortunate enough to experience his ever-ready kindness.—(*London*) *Christian Reformer.*

EDUCATION IN NEW YORK.

The Teacher's Compensation.

"To the sculptor, who, from the shapeless marble, reveals the glorious statue within, and by skill and labor brings it forth, almost a living, breathing thing, to enchant the world, we award high honors, high station, and high rewards—and justly do we do so. But to the artist who takes the immortal mind, and with plastic hand, and patient observation, and ample knowledge, and unwearying industry, and refined taste, and deep consciousness of the almost awful responsibility of his work, fashions it to usefulness, restrains or subdues its evil propensities, calls forth its nobler aspirations, and fits it for honor here, for immortality hereafter—to such an artist, who has ever seen civic wreaths decreed, public honors paid, or even the stipulated pecuniary compensation, for the most part, other than grudgingly extended?"—*Charles King.*

About the time when these eloquent words were uttered—only a few months since—the following advertisement was from day to day appearing in one of the New York papers:

"Wanted, an experienced teacher, to take the principal charge of a parochial school in this city. He must be *thoroughly acquainted* with the Latin, Greek and French languages, with mathematics, and the other branches of knowledge usually pursued in schools of the higher class, and be able to give instructions, in a scientific manner, in church music. Salary, six hundred dollars per annum. Address, etc."

Any one who is accustomed, in idle moments, to glance at the advertisements in his daily paper, and especially every teacher who has ever been in the extremely uncomfortable predicament of having to seek employment by answering them, and has accordingly been in the habit of daily perusing the column of "Wants" with absorbing interest, knows that there is nothing unusual or extraordinary about the advertisement just quoted: it is not common, indeed, for the salary to be named, except when the advertiser imagines he is offering something *very* liberal, and desires to call forth the applications of superior persons. Such was probably the case upon this occasion. The trustees of the school in question doubtless imagined that the sum of six hundred dollars was an offer rather splendid than otherwise. It produced, of course, unnumbered applications from all sorts of people—from those almost competent to discharge the multifarious duties of the place, down to that class of our fellow-creatures who "spell character with a k." In spite, however, of this opinion of the trustees, I must be allowed to think that the disproportion between the ware advertised for, and the price proposed to be paid for it, is such as to be simply ludicrous. Even if such an admirable Crichton offer his services, compelled thereto by accidental misfortunes, he could retain the place only as long as he should be under the cloud. Taking the words of the advertisement in their literal signification—"he must thoroughly understand the Latin and Greek languages"—there are, perhaps, not a hundred individuals now alive who could conscientiously apply for the situation. Of course no such signification is intended here. To "thoroughly understand" a subject, in school language, merely means, to know enough of it to be able on all occasions to conceal your ignorance.

The rate of pecuniary compensation attached to an employment is supposed to be, and ought to be, regulated by a variety of considerations: as, for example, the following:—the rarity of the commonness of the talent required; the style in which the occupant of the place is obliged to live; the cost of the necessaries of life, the length of the apprenticeship needful; the chance of advancement and promotion it affords. The reader is requested to reflect upon this subject of the compensation of teachers in the light of these principles.

If there is at present any class of persons *rarer* than another, it is the class fitted by nature and education to be instructors of the young. By the very nature of his office, the teacher is a model man. He *is* such, whether worthy to be or not. A parent, in placing a child at school, in effect makes the following declaration to the teacher:—"Mr. Instructor-of-youth, I think so well of you, that I strongly desire my child to grow up, as far as possible, to *resemble* you. I wish him to acquire your knowledge, embrace your opinions, adopt your principles, imbibe your sentiments—above all, to form your habits. To this end I place him in your school, and for the time being, I endow you with that power and authority over him which I received direct from his Creator." This is the language which his *act* implies, and it is often the language of his lips. It is a common or an uncommon thing to meet with a person to whom an intelligent parent can address such language? It is not necessary to answer the question. Such persons do, however, exist, and when they are found, they should at least be sufficiently maintained.

To meet the requirements of the advertisement in question, taking the words employed in it in a very moderate sense, an apprenticeship of at least fifteen years is necessary. The candidate is to have a respectable knowledge of Latin and Greek, which every one who has seriously tried to gain such knowledge, know to be a ten year's work. He is to be an accomplished mathematician, understand music and French, items requiring time and expensive tuition. Moreover, he is to have experience, a vague demand. Intelligent teachers, however, are well enough aware that more than one or two years must pass before their mistakes cease to be of *hourly* recurrence! For the services of a person so prepared, a scholar, a man of experience, of mature age, a compensation is offered which a custom-house officer would think beggarly, and a banker's clerk despise And justly; for both officer and clerk are *entrusted* with much money and merchandise. But is this parochial schoolmaster *entrusted* with nothing?

The labor to be performed, too, by him is of a professional nature, and renders it necessary that a certain appearance should be presented to the world. He must live *somewhere;* he must look somebody. Yet an efficient carman who wears the "manly gown," and *may* live where he *can*, could hardly be procured for the sum named. A gay young blood of the respectable fraternity of carman upon whose vehicle I suffered the other day, informed me that he earned *more*. "I got five dollars," said he, "yesterday after four in the afternoon." I hope this was not a vain boast.

Our "parochial school" is in the city. Six hundred dollars in the country is something; in the city, it is precisely nothing, a dangerous, tantilizing nothing. With half the sum a man would know what to do and where to go, and how to behave.—Double it, and a reasonable family with a "managing mother" could decently exist. But the sum itself condemns them to a gentility no less painful than shabby.

Besides all these and other similar considerations, there is another—the peculiar *helplessness* of the teacher with respect to his own fortune. He is singularly cut off from participation in active life; he is excluded from the general scramble after wealth; he has no part nor lot in the matter. He is, more than other men, at the mercy of those who employ him. He cannot buy or sell, or speculate, or manufacture; it is solely for the public or the parents, or the trustees to determine, whether he shall be (so far as fortune has power) a gentleman or a beggar! This consideration, more than most others, makes me indignant when trustees, who are themselves clothed in broadcloth and fine linen, fare sumptuously every day, and live in palaces, presume to condemn a teacher of whom so much is required, to perpetual seediness of mind, body and estate.—KENT.—*Home Journal.*

THE PRESENT A REFLECTION OF THE PAST.

"You are fond of antiquities," said Melvius the next morning: "let us go to Campagna's."

"And who is Campagna?"

"Have you never heard of him? one of the most remarkable men of this town." .. ..

Melvius would not tell me who Campagna was, or why he led me so rapidly through the intricate streets which separate the old Campus Martius from Monte di Pieta. There was nothing at all remarkable in the appearance of the house which we entered, except, perhaps, that the stair was even narrower and dirtier than usual; but my surprise was great upon entering an apartment on the first floor, to find myself in a kind of museum full of antique vases, beautiful and elaborate specimens of painting, which could only boast of slight perspective, but, were, nevertheless, fraught with merit. Living within the atmosphere of art, as we do at Rome, the mere fact of being introduced into a gallery, even of such large dimensions, had nothing remarkable in it; but what astonished me was the perfect state of the vases which I saw, and their admirable arrangement.

After passing through five or six rooms, which I scarcely had time to glance at—for my guide hurried me rapidly through them—we reached one which was quite filled with female ornaments; there were bracelets, ear-rings, diadems, all apparently of the purest gold, as they undoubtedly were of the cunningest workmanship. The whole room was full of these ornaments, which would defy the art of any modern jeweller. "See," I exclaimed, "how great this people were. You talk, Melvius, of delicacy of touch—where did you ever see such perfect productions among the schools of modern refinement?—you tell me, again Melvius, that we can learn nothing from Rome."

Melvius smiled incredulously.

"Why do you laugh?" I continued; "can we, I ask you yourself, imitate these works?"

"Not successfully, I will willingly admit," was the reply.

"Yet you smile"

"At your earnestness; because it testifies to the truth of my principle, that all enthusiasm is erroneous, and that error is frequently enthusiastic. To whom do you suppose these armlets belonged?"

"To some Roman matron, to be sure!"

"And this knight in armor, the skull, these weapons, all the equestrian trappings by which we are surrounded, also belonged to a Roman?"

"And why not—are they not worthy of them?"

"Certainly so; but on such a day, some two thousand years since, two men possibly were discussing, as we are now—the antiquity of the very relics whose origin we are now puzzling our brains to trace. Look at the perfection of these ornaments, buried for some three or four thousand years—their origin was as much a mystery to the Romans as they are to us. The Etruscan cities were equally the theme of speculative discussion in the first century of Rome as they are now; is it not incredible that these evidences of an organized society remain so long buried in the soil which the Roman peasant tilled? How little did the knight, as he pricked his steed over the wild Maremma, imagine that he was scattering, with his horse's hoofs, the dust of great cities. If you are in ecstasies at the forum, and your imagination can conjure up its classic populations and great historic names, how much more surprised must you be at this collection of Etruscan relics, this undeniable proof of an antiquity, which was for a long time a mystery even to the Romans. I know nothing in this great city which conveys to me so much interest amounting to awe, which satisfies me so readily of the littleness of the greatest ambitions, and the short span of duration of the mightiest empires."

"It would seem," I exclaimed with delight, "that our ladies are embued with Etruria. Why, here are chatelains, just as they wear them now; and these rings (for whole drawers were now exposed to view), they are precisely the same shape and appearance as those which were produced from the stores of Castellani. Surely there is some deception—it is impossible to conceive that these have been dug up from the ruins of cities whose dates the boldest chronologist finds it difficult to determine."

"It proves that people in all ages have the same vanities; and strange that vanity appears to be the most undying of all qualities—for mark, in all excavations, whether here or at Pompeii, the most abundant crop invariably consists of female ornaments. But look here, at this last room—you observe it is fitted up exactly to represent an Etruscan tomb: the walls are painted just as they were found, the armor hung up exactly in the same spots. There lies the man who fought, probably, so well, for over his skull are hung, you may observe, a variety of crowns and golden wreaths. 'I devote my life to the gods and fame,' he must have exclaimed; but, alas! the question is now—what were his gods? and this fame for which his bones are bleaching here is as empty and hollow as the tomb. How little could he have imagined that the very existence of the country which he thought to immortalise would become the sport of schoolmen and the battle-ground of mere speculative antiquarians. Look at the armor—it is almost as bright as it was when he first wore it; the ring contains as pure a gem; the golden ivy leaf keeps its shape. Here he rests in peace—the Etruscan warrior brought to light by an Italian dilettanti for the admiration of a London traveller. What a singular association of ideas, and how it compels us to reflect on the possible fate of Rome, and even of our own country, on which, in the language of bombastic oratory, the sun never sets."

"Yes," I said, "I can realise the picture which is sketched with the powerful pencil of Macaulay—that the day may come when some traveller from New Zealand, standing on a broken arch of London Bridge, may be sketching the ruins of St. Paul's, just as in the former days Tacitus, writing of England in the time of Tiberias, thus describes us:—'Quidam in Britanniam rapti, et remissi a regulis, aut quis ex longinquo revenerat; miracula narrabunt. Vim turbinium et inauditas volucres; monstra maris, belluarum formas; visa, sive ex metu credita.'"

"I come here again and again," said Melvius, "Little known by strangers, it is the most remarkable spot in Rome. Campagna himself is a man of great taste, and well informed upon the subject of Etruria. In his society you feel as if you were living in a past generation: his language has caught something of the antiquity amid which he gropes, and the eccentric character of his pursuits. But you will gain a great deal from him; for, on each fresh examination, you will leave him more and more impressed with the fact which you blamed me for asserting yesterday—that all the memorials of past valor, of beauty and grandeur fill my mind, not with admiration at the greatness, but with me lancholy regret at the littleness, of all human objects."—*Cochran's Young Italy.*

THE PEACE CONGRESS.

How the world would stagnate, were it not for the follies of the hair-brained and enthusiastic! Happily, they now and then make the sides of the grave and wise to shake with wholesome laughter; even though the aforesaid gravity and wisdom quick subside into compassion—profoundest pity of the utopians. How many laughs has wisdom enjoyed at the cost of a speculative folly! There was one Hervey, who avouched a discovery of the circulation of the blood. And the world laughed, and then rebuked him; and finally—for his outrageous nonsense—punished him by depriving him of his practice.

There was one Jenner, who, having speculated upon the hands of certain dairy-maids, theorized upon vaccine virus, and declared that in the cow he had found a remedy for small-pox. And the world shouted; and the wags were especially droll—foretelling, in their excess of witty lancies, the growth of cow's horns from the heads of viccinated babies.

When it was declared that our streets should be illuminated by ignited coal gas—the gas to flow under our feet—the world laughed; and then, checked in its merriment, stoutly maintained that some night, London, from end to end, would be blown up. Winsor, the gas man, was only a more tremendous Guy Fawkes.

When the experimental steamboat was first essayed at Blackwall and went stern foremost, the river rang with laughter. There never was such a waterman's holiday.

When Stephenson was examined by the parliamentary sages upon a railway project by which desperate people were to travel at the rate of say, fifteen miles an hour, the *Quarterly Review* laughed a sardonic laugh, asking, with killing irony,—"Would not men as soon be shot out of a gun, as travel by such means?"

And when, last week, the Peace Congress met at Frankfort, did not the wise ones laugh at the tinkering pacificators—the simple ones in broad brim and drab? They met in St. Paul's Church (did they pay twopence?) and tiger Haynau listened to them, and was not there and then changed to a lamb; neither was there a single cannon turned, by the eloquence of the talkers into honey.

The wise world has laughed at the circulation of the blood—at gas—at steamboats—at railways.—Why should not the world enjoy its horse-collar grin at the preachers of peace? Why should not arbitration (until an accepted principle) be quite as ridiculous (until triumphant) as vaccination? If Jenner was a quack, why should not the dove—the symbol of peace—be pronounced a most fabulous goose?

Meanwhile, and only a few hours after the departure of the Peace Congress from Frankfort, England and France are tied together by the electric wire, and the lightning carries messages between the nations—the natural enemies! An electric wire from Dover to Cape Grisnez! What a line of comment on the laughters!—*Punch.*

A SKETCH IN RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

As I sallied forth this morning (May 13) to see the place, almost the first thing that met my view was a large house, surrounded by a very high brick wall. Upon asking the first passer-by what it was, he informed me it was a nigger jail, where traders confined their slaves, preparatory to taking them south. He very politely offered to conduct me through it, which I gladly accepted. I have heretofore supposed that the term, 'slaves in chains,' as used in the newspapers, was a figure of speech, used comparatively; but here they were chained together, sitting round on benches in the most filthy and loathsome place I ever saw. I questioned one, too, why he was chained. He said he had been sold to go South, and he wanted to see his wife again before he went, and had run away to go back to his old master's for that purpose. My heart was too full to question any of the others.

"In the female department there was a very pretty white woman, with two children. By close inspection, it might be seen that she had a little African blood in her veins, apparently not over one-tenth; but the children did not show the least trace of it. I expressed my surprise at this to my conductor, as I had supposed Slavery to be confined to the African race; when I was informed there was no limit of blood in this State. So long as the mother is a slave, the offspring is also, no matter of what color. I have learned that there are numerous slaves in this city as white as their masters.

"My next move was to attend a slave auction. The slaves, of all colors, from sooty black to perfect white, were brought in, and seated on benches. Here they were subjected to the most particular examination. It was curious to see the manner of the speculators in examining their teeth. They would order them to open their mouths, then press back their lips with their two thumbs, just as a jockey would a horse. On a window sill lay a large pile of manacles; some were constructed of a large rod of iron, with handcuffs on each side, so as to form a row. The first lot sold was the white woman and her children, that I before spoke of. The auctioneer extolled her qualities by representing her to be a first-rate seamstress, &c. She was struck down at 1,105 dollars.

"The lackey of the place (himself a slave) then led up a man about 25. 'Unharness yourself, old boy,' says he. The man, trembling like a leaf all the while, strips himself with the assistance of the lackey, in full view of the street and of female slaves. The lackey asks him what he is shaking for, as he is not going to be hurt. The auctioneer announces no scars on his back of any consequence, and the sale proceeds; sold at 425 dollars. Next comes a little girl of 18, about half white. Then two twin brothers of 14, sold to different masters; one, I was told, was a Southern trader. So on to the end of the sale, when the gentlemen were thanked for their attention, and attendance requested to-morrow, when they would be shown something nice. During the sale my attention was called to the door by a string of slaves going past, chained together, probably on their way to some Southern plantation.

"I am confident that the most effective way for Abolitionists to gain converts to their cause is to send Northerners as far South as this place, and let them attend one of these slave auctions. Hard, indeed, must be the heart of one who could look upon such a scene, and not blush for his country's shame.—*From the Monthly Illustrations of American Slavery, published at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.*

A SPLENDED DESCRIPTION.

ONE Paul Denton, a Methodist preacher in Texas, advertised a barbacue, with better liquor than usually furnished. When the people were assembled, a desperado in the crowd cried out, "Mr. Paul Denton, your reverence has lied. You promised not only a good barbacue but better liquor. Where's the liquor?"

"There!" answered the missionary, in tones of thunder, and pointing his motionless finger at the matchless double spring, gushing up in two strong columns, with a sound like a shout of joy from the bosom of the earth. "There!" he repeated, with a look terrible as lightening, while his enemy actually trembled at his feet; "there is the liquor which God the eternal, brews for all his children.

Not in the simmering stills ever smoky fires, choked with poisonous gasses, and surrounded with the stench of sickening odors and rank corruptions, doth your Father in heaven prepare the precious essence of life, the pure cold water. But in the green glade and grassy dell, where the red deer wanders, and the child loves to play, there God brews it; and down, low down in the deepest vallies, where the fountain murmurs and the rills sing; and high up in the mountain tops, where the naked granite glitters like gold in the sun, where the storm-cloud broods and the thunder-storm crashes, and away far out on the wide wild sea, where the hurricane howls music, and the big wave rolls the chorus, sweeping the march of God—there He brews it, that beverage of life, health giving water. And everywhere it is a thing of beauty, gleaming in the dew-drop; singing in the summer rain; shining in the ice gem, till the trees all seemed turned to living jewels, spreading a golden veil over the setting sun, or a white gauze around the midnight moon; sporting in the cataract; sleeping in the glacier; dancing in the hail shower, folding its bright snow curtains softly about the wintry world; and weaving the many colored iris, that seraph's zone of the sky, whose warp is the rain drop of earth, whose woof is the sun beam of heaven, all checked over with celestial flowers, by the mystic hand of refraction. Still always it is beautiful—that blessed life-water! no poison bubbles on its brink; its foam brings not madness and murder; no blood stains its liquid glass; pale widows and starving orphans weep not burning tears in its depths; no drunkard's shrinking ghost from the grave curses it in words of eternal despair! Speak out, my friends, would you exchange it for the demon's drink alchohol?"

A shout like the roar of a tempest answered "No."—*Louisville Examiner.*

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

——ADVANTAGES OF EARLY TRAINING.—The following dialogue is reported to have taken place at the Queen's County Assize between a medical witness and a barrister:—Mr. Hayes (the barrister): If a person lying on wet straw were deprived of all the comforts or necessaries of life, would it not hasten death?—Dr. Edge: That would greatly depend upon whether he had been accustomed to them?—Mr Hayes: Do you mean to tell us that if a person lived in a horse-pond it would not be injurious to him?—Dr. Edge; I think not if he had lived sixty or seventy years in it.

——THE HONOR OF KNIGHTHOOD DECLINED.—The Queen, after viewing the gigantic Tweed viaduct at Berwick, to be called henceforth, by her Majesty's command, the "Royal Border Bridge," was pleased to testify her sense of the eminent scientific skill of the engineer, Mr. Stephenson, by offering him, through Sir George Grey, the honor of Knighthood. Mr. Stephenson, no doubt, fully appreciated the honor so gracefully tendered by royalty to science, but gratefully and respectfully declined it.

——NEWSPAPER CIRCULATION UNDER DIFFICULTIES.—We read in the 'Patrie': "The hawkers of journals, the sale of which in the streets is prohibited, resort to numerous tricks to evade detection. Many of the men wear very large trousers; lined with journals; others make false calves with them, and some increase their natural rotundity. Lately a female hawker, who appeared to be in advanced state of pregnancy, was arrested. She was searched by a woman, and safely delivered of forty-eight copies of the *Requblique* and the *Evenement.*

——M. LAMARTINE'S "CONFIDENCES."—M. Lamartine has commenced the publication of a new volume of "Confidences" in the *feuilleton* of the *Presse.* It appears, that the large sale of the previous volumes has not had the effect he had hoped for—the enabling him to prevent his creditors from selling his family mansion and estate. "It is vain," he says, "that I have given to the wind these leaves, torn from the book of my most pious souvenirs; the time which the price of them enabled me to purchase has not sufficed to conduct me to the threshold of the residence in which we regret no more! My *Charmettes* are about to be sold! Let my critics be content. I have the shame of having published these 'Confidences,' and I have not the joy of having saved my garden. Strangers will go to efface from it the footsteps of my mother. But God is God. He sometimes orders the wind to uproot the oak of one hundred years, and man to uproot his own heart. The oak and the heart are His; they must be given up to Him! and with them, in addition, justice, glory, and praises!"

——DUST AND ASHES.—I do not know whether it was Lowth, but it was some bishop, to whom my father one day, in the midst of a warm discussion, being asked "if he knew who he was?" replied, with a bow, "Yes my lord; dust and ashes."—*The Autobiography of Leigh Hunt.*

——THE WORLD MOVES.—The finger of Galileo is shown under a glass case in the Florence Museum It stands a mysterious-looking bit of parchment, pointing towards heaven. The hand to which it belonged is supposed to have been put to the torture by the Inquisition for ascribing motion to the earth, and the finger is now worshipped for having proved the motion.

——CINDERELLA, OR THE GLASS SLIPPER.—Two centuries ago furs were so rare, and therefore so highly valued, that the wearing of them was restricted by several sumptuary laws to kings and princes. Sable, in those laws called *vair*, was the subject of countless regulations: the exact quality permitted to be worn by persons of different grades, and the articles of dress to which it might be applied, were defined most strictly. Perrault's tale of "Cinderella" originally marked the dignity conferred on her by the fairy by her wearing a slipper of *vair*, a privilege then confined to the highest rank of princesses. An error of the press, now become inveterate, changed *vair* into *verre*, and the slipper of *sable* was suddenly converted into a *glass* slipper.—*Notes and Queries.*

——THE editor of the *Aylesbury News*, who was one of the delegates to the Peace Congress, thus speaks of M. Girardin, editor of the *Presse*:—"Standing in the tribune, forty years ago, people would have mistaken him for Napoleon: the same stern cast of face, which never smiles, and is always brooding over the fall and elevation of empires. His finely chiselled mouth forms itself neatly into the French language, and never emits a word of cant. You know there is combustible enough within sufficient to set the world in flames. You perceive a restless ambition lowering over that stern forehead, and you turn away determined not to trust him with the principles of peace."

——A writer in *Notes and Queries* affirms that in some places in Ireland the people place great faith in in the following charm for warts: "When a funeral is passing by, they rub the warts and say three times, 'May these warts and this corpse pass away and never more return;' sometimes adding, 'in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.'"

——THE following is given in the *London Athenæum* as a correct statement of the sums paid to Washington Irving by the Murrays, father and son, for copyrights:

Sketch Book. . . .	£467 10 0
Bracebridge Hall, . . .	1050 0 0
Traveller, . . .	1575 0 0
Columbus, . . .	3150 0 0
Companions of Columbus, . .	525 0 0
Grenada, . . .	2100 0 0
Tour on the Prairies, . .	400 0 0
Abbotsford and Newstead, . .	400 0 0
Legends of Spain, . . .	100 0 0
	£9,767 10 0

——LOUIS PHILIPPE.—The good nature of his manners is undeniable He possessed the popular quality of bonhomie. A gentleman named Smith having had occasion recently to call on him on business, he began the conversation by saying—Ah! Mr. Smith, you know how very useful your name was to me." His desire to please everybody made him an habitual flatterer. He used to frequent the ateliers of artists, and tell them he never was so happy as when trudging about in Paris on foot, and staring into all the shop windows. He would shake hands with anybody. Sometimes his flatteries were retorted with sarcasms. "Ah! M. Beranger," he said to the old poet, "your songs have sung me into the throne." "Well, then," was the reply, "I am very ill pleased with my songs."—*Standard of Freedom.*

——FARMING SUCCESSFULLY WITHOUT MANURE.—We find the following in the Paris correspondence of the *Globe*:—"Considerable sensation has been created among the agriculturalists of this department, by the results of the experiments made by M. Dussan, on a farm of about 250 acres at St. Maur. M. Dussan is the patentee of a liquid in which the grain is steeped for 24 hours before it is sown. On some the land sown with this prepared seed, and *without manure*, the crop has been one-sixth more than ever was on the same land when richly manured, and on richly manured land sown with prepared seed the crop is double. Some time ago, a great deal was said about a liquid for the same purpose, invented by a M. Bickers, but the results were not satisfactory. This, however, is not the case with the liquid of M. Dussan, and his results have been verified by the authorities. The cost of this liquid is only one tenth of the average price of the ordinary manure, and consequently, even at the law price of corn in the market, the 250 acres at St. Maur yield an enormous profit."

——It appears, however, from a certain most extraordinary ledger which we were permitted to peruse, that a portion of the public availed themselves of this inestimable literary indulgence (Post Office) with about as much consideration as a herd of very hungry pigs might be expected to evince on being allowed, for recreation, to walk in a garden of beautiful tulips; and certainly if the ghost of our excellent old friend the late Sir Francis Freeling could but by conjuration be made to read the list of the 'packets' which have been transmitted and delivered by post, it certainly, like that of Hamlet, would exclaim to our energetic Post-master-General—

"O, horrible! O, horrible! most horrible!
If thou hast nature in thee, bear it not."

For instance, it appears there have been transmitted as 'packets'—from Blackburn in Lancashire to Spitalfields, London, two canary-birds, delivered by the postman alive and well. From Devenport to London, a pork pie. To London, a woodcock, also a pair of piebald mice, which were kept in the Post Office a month, fed, and at last delivered to the owner, who called for them. From Manchester to Castle street, Borough, two rabbits and one bird—fifteen parcels plum-pudding. From Bognor to Plymouth, a lobster. In one day 31 letters containing wedding-cake. On more than one occasion, without any envelope, a bank-note (one was for no less than £50,) the two ends being merely folded upon each other, wafered, and the back of the note then directed! Innumerable leeches in bladders, several of which having burst, and the water having wetted the letters, many of the poor creatures were found crawling over the correspondence of the country. From Plymouth to 'Hunmanby,' a bottle of cream. From a mother to her son, a bottle of strawberries, which being smashed in the bag, completely destroyed a 'packet' full of very valuable lace addressed to the late Queen Dowager. A ship biscuit, the address being on a very small piece of paper pasted thereon. From Totness to Dublin, an uncovered bottle full of liquor, merely labelled with an address and the words 'sample of cider.' From Exmouth to Hastings, half a pound of soft soap in thin paper. From Bishop's Stortford to Brun